

T H E
M E T H O D
O F
TEACHING AND STUDYING
T H E
BELLES LETTRES,
O R,

AN INTRODUCTION TO LANGUAGES, POETRY, RHETORIC, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICS, &c.

W I T H
REFLECTIONS ON TASTE, and INSTRUCTIONS
with regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT, the BAR, and the STAGE.

The whole illustrated with PASSAGES from the most famous POETS and ORATORS, ancient and modern, with CRITICAL REMARKS on them.

Designed more particularly for STUDENTS in the UNIVERSITIES.

By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

V O L. II.

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B O O K III.

O F R H E T O R I C.

THOUGH nature and genius are the principal foundations of eloquence, and sometimes suffice alone for success in it, we cannot however deny, but that precepts and art may be of great service to an ^a orator, whether he uses them as guides to supply him with certain rules for distinguishing the good from the bad, or for improving and bringing to perfection the advantages he received from nature.

^b These precepts, founded on the principles of good sense and right reason, are only the judicious observations of learned men on the discourses of the best orators, which were afterwards reduced into form, and united under certain heads; whence it was said, that eloquence was not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence.

From hence it is easy to conceive, that rhetoric without the study of good authors is lifeless and barren, and that ^c examples in this, as in all other things, are infinitely more efficacious than precepts; and indeed the rhetorician seems only to point out the path

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^a Ego in his præceptis hanc vim et hanc utilitatem esse arbitror, non ut ad reperiendum quid dicamus arte ducamur, sed ut ea quæ natura, quæ studio, quæ exercitatione consequimur, aut recta esse credamus, aut prava intelligamus; cum, quo referenda sint, didicerimus. Cic. de orat. n. 232.

^b Ego hanc vim intelligo esse in præceptis omnibus, non ut eæ sicuti oratores eloquentiæ laudem sint adepti; sed, quæ sua sponte homines eloquentes facerent, ea quosdam observasse, atque ad egisse. Sic esse non eloquentiam ex artificio, sed artificium ex eloquentia natum. 1. de orat. n. 146.

^c In omnibus fere minus valent præcepta quam experimenta. Quint. l. 2. c. 5.

at a distance which youth are to follow; whilst the orator takes them by the hand, and leads them into it.

As the end then proposed in the class of rhetoric, is to teach them to apply the rules, and imitate the models or examples set before them; all the care of masters with regard to eloquence is reduced to these three heads; precepts, the studying of authors, and composition.

Quintilian tells us, the second of these articles was entirely neglected in his time; and that the rhetoricians bestowed all their study on the other two. To say nothing here of the species of composition, then in vogue, called Declamation, and which was one of the principal causes of the corruption of eloquence; they entered into a long train of precepts, and into knotty, and very often frivolous questions; which is the reason, that even Quintilian's rhetoric, though so excellent in other respects, appears vastly tedious in several places: he had too just a taste, not to observe, that the reading of authors is one of the most essential parts of rhetoric, and most capable of forming the minds of youth. ^d Yet, however good his inclination might be, it was impossible for him to stem the torrent; and he was obliged, in spite of all his endeavours, to conform in public, to a custom that prevailed universally; but followed, in private, that method which he judged the best.

This method is now generally received in the university of Paris, and did not gain ground there but by degrees. I shall dwell chiefly on that part, which relates to the study and explanation of authors, after having treated transiently of the other two, which it may be said to include in some measure.

CHAP

^dCaeterum, sentientibus jam tum optima, dux res impedimento fuerunt: quod et longa consuetudo aliter docendi fecerat legem, &c. Quint. l. 2. c. 5.

C H A P. I.

Of the Precepts of RHETORIC.

THE best way to learn rhetoric, would be to imbibe it at the fountain head, I mean from Aristotle, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Longinus, Cicero and Quintilian. But since the reading of these authors, especially the Greek, is much above the capacity of the scholars usually admitted into the class of rhetoric, the professors may explain by word of mouth, the solid principles that occur in those great masters of eloquence, which they ought to have made their peculiar study; and content themselves with pointing out to their pupils, the most beautiful passages in Cicero and Quintilian, where the topics to be expounded are discussed; for methinks it would be a shame to leave the class of rhetoric, without having some idea and knowledge of those authors, who have treated the art with so much success.

What is most important in rhetoric does not consist so much in the precepts, as in the reflections that attend them, and shew their use. A man may know the number of the several parts of an oration, that of the tropes and figures, and the definitions very exactly, and yet be never the better qualified for composition. These things are indeed useful and even necessary to a certain degree, but do not suffice; being only, as it were, the body or shell of rhetoric. If the observations which give a reason for, and shew the effect of every precept, are not added, 'tis a body without a soul; but some examples will explain my meaning.

One rule of the exordium is, that the orator should speak very modestly of himself, in order to conciliate the judges in his favour; that he should not display his eloquence too much, and, if possible, even render that of his opponent suspected. This is a good and very necessary precept, but Quintilian's reflections upon it

are much more valuable. “^c It is natural for us, says he, to be prejudiced in favour of the weakest, and a religious judge hears very willingly a pleader or advocate, when he thinks him incapable of imposing upon his justice, and that he has no reason to distrust him. Thence, says he; proceeded the care of the ancients, to conceal their eloquence; in which they differ very widely from the orators of our age, who use their utmost efforts to display theirs.”

He elsewhere gives another still more laudable reason, deduced from nature itself, and founded on the knowledge of the human heart. “^f It is never commendable, says he, in any man to boast of himself; but an orator, of all people, appears with the worst grace, when his eloquence makes him vain. Such a conduct raises contempt and sometimes hatred in the auditors; for there is something naturally great, noble and sublime in the heart of man, which cannot bear a superior. For this reason we are inclined to raise up those who are cast down, or humble themselves, because it gives us an air of superiority; and as that prostrate condition leaves no room for jealousy, sentiments of candour and humanity naturally take place. On the contrary, he who sets too high a value upon himself, shocks our pride, because we think he lessens and contemns us; and seems less intent upon magnifying himself, than upon making others his inferiors.”

Brevity

^e In his quoque commendatio tacita, si nos infirmos et impares ingeniis contra agentium dixerimus. — Est enim naturalis favor pro laborantibus; et iudex religiosus libentissime patronum audit, quem justitiæ suæ minime timet. Inde illa veterum circa occultandam eloquentiam simulatio, multum ab hac nostrorum temporum jactatione diversa. Quintil. l. 4. c. 1.

^f Omnis sui vitiosa jactatio est, eloquentiæ tamen in oratore præcipue; assertque audientibus non fastidium modo, sed plerumque etiam odium. Habet enim mens nostra sublime quiddam, et erectum, et impatiens superioris. Ideoque abjectos, aut summittentes se, libenter allevamus, quia hoc facere tanquam majores videmur; et quoties discescit æmulatio, succedit humanitas. At, qui se supra modum extollit, premere ac despiciere creditur; nec tam se majorem, quam minores cæteros facere. Quintil. l. 11. c. 1.

Brevity is generally laid down as one of the necessary qualities of narration, and is made to consist in saying no more than is necessary. If this precept be not explained, it will inform the mind but very little, and may occasion mistakes; but what Quintilian adds, sets it in the clearest light. “g Although I observed that brevity consists in saying no more than what is necessary, I don’t however pretend, that the orator should confine himself to the bare stating the fact; for though the narration should be short, it should not want its graces: without which it would be void of art, and disgusting. For pleasure deceives and amuses, and whatever gives delight seems of short duration; as a smooth and pleasant road, though of a considerable length, fatigues less than one that is short, but steep or disagreeable.”

“h It is plain, such reflections may be of great service towards giving us a just taste of eloquence, and may even form and improve the stile; but jejune and over refined precepts only cramp the genius, and deprive orations of their nobler parts, their vigour and beauty.”

M. Herfan, formerly professor in the college *du Plessis*, under whom I was so happy as to study three years, and who contributed in forming some of the best masters that have since appeared in the university, composed, on the plan here mentioned, an excellent system of rhetoric, into which he introduced all the finest thoughts of the ancients; but unhappily, would take up too much time to dictate it; and

A 3

besides,

Quantum opus est autem, non ita solum accipi volo, quantum ad judicandum sufficit: quia non inornata debet esse brevitās, alioqui sit indocta. Nam et fallit voluptas, et minus longa quae delectant videntur; ut amoenum ac molle iter, etiamsi est spatii amplioris, minus fatigat quam durum arduumque compendium. Quintil. l. 5. c. 2.

His omnibus admiscebitur dicendi ratio . . . quae alere facundiam, vires augere eloquentiae possit. Nam plerumque nuda illae artes, nimia subtilitatis affectione frangunt, atque concidunt quicquid est in oratione generosius, et omnem succum ingenii bibunt, et ossa detegunt. Quintil. *prooem.*

besides, I own I am of opinion, that it would be better to read the beautiful passages of the antient rhetoricians in the authors themselves.

Methinks then, for the sake of time, which is very precious in study, it were to be wished, that a short, plain, and clear printed system of rhetoric was used in the university; wherein true definitions should be given; some reflections and examples added to the precepts; and the beautiful passages on each topic in Cicero, Quintilian, and even Longinus, (since we now have so good a translation of him) pointed out. Part of those passages might be read to scholars in the class of rhetoric, and they themselves might consult the rest.

I am very sensible, 'tis difficult, if not impossible, to do all this to advantage in the space of a year; and the best advice that can be given to parents, who would have their children make a good progress in this class, which may be of infinite advantage to them during the remainder of their lives, whatever profession they may follow, is to let them continue two years in it. For what probability is there that scholars, next to children, who have little judgment, are not much versed in the Latin tongue, and probably, not very studious, should imbibe the precepts of so important an art in so short a time?

The Romans had a far different idea of this study. As eloquence, among them, opened the way to all grandeur, such young people, as had care taken of their education, applied themselves seriously to it, and spent several years under masters of rhetoric, as appears from Quintilian. But even in those days, they sometimes neglected that excellent discipline, of which one of the ancients complains; and ambitious fathers, solely intent upon promoting their children, hurried them to the bar, without giving them time to digest their studies, as though it were as easy to give them abilities, as a lawyer's gown: whereas had they made them pass through the ordinary degrees of literature, and allowed their judgment time to ripen, by a care-

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ful study of authors ; to imbibe a great number of just philosophical principles, and to acquire correctness of stile ; they would have enabled their sons to support all the weight and majesty of eloquence, with dignity and advantage.

C H A P. II.

Of Composition.

IT is particularly in rhetoric, that young people endeavour to display their genius by some composition of their own, and that the greatest care is taken to form them in this study, which is not only the most difficult, but the most important, and as it were the end and scope of all the rest. To succeed in it, they ought to have collected, from the good authors in the other classes through which they pass, a great number of terms and phrases of that tongue in which they propose to write ; so that when an occasion offers for expressing any thought in just and proper language, they may have recourse to their memory, that like a rich treasury may supply them with all the expressions they have occasion to use.

A R T I C L E I.

Of Themes.

THE subjects or themes for composition are 2. kind of plan described by the master to his scholars, in order to point out what they are to say upon a subject given.

This plan may be laid down to the scholars either by word of mouth, by proposing a subject to be immediately discussed, and assisting them to invent, to range, and express thoughts ; or in writing, by dictating on some subject, the matter for composition, which must be digested, must supply thoughts, prescribe

scribe their order, and requires little more than to be amplified and adorned.

The former of these methods is not so much practised as the other, but is no less useful; and I am persuaded, that a little trial of it will convince, that nothing is better adapted to assist the invention of youth, than to make them from time to time compose after this method in the master's presence; by interrogating them *viva voce*, and making them invent what may be said on a subject. I shall give some examples of these plans for composition in the sequel of this work.

It is natural to begin with the easiest things, and such as are best adapted to the capacities of youth, as fables, for instance; for which end it will be proper to make them read for some weeks, those of Phædrus, which are a perfect model for that species of composition.

Some of la Fontaine's might be added, which will teach them to introduce more thoughts with their fables, than we find in those of Phædrus, as Horace has done in that of the city and country mouse.

These fables are to be followed by short narrations which, at first, must be very simple, but afterwards have some ornament. They must likewise be followed by common places, and next by parallels either between great men of different characters whose history they have learnt; or different professions, of which Cicero has left us an example in his oration for Murena, where he makes a comparison between the art of war, and the profession of the law: parallels may also be drawn between different actions; and the same great orator * compares the military virtues of Cæsar with his clemency. These kind of subjects naturally suggest a great variety of ideas.

Since speeches and orations are the most difficult lessons in rhetoric, 'tis proper to reserve them for the last.

* In his oration for Marcellus.

The matter for composition given by the master, whether in Latin or the vulgar tongue, must be well studied and laid down, for on this the success of scholars principally depends. We must, as ⁱ Quintilian observes, remove all difficulties for them in the beginning, and give them themes proportionate to their capacities, which should be almost done to their hands. After they have been thus exercised for some time, nothing will then remain, but to point out the path, as it were to them; and give them a slight sketch of what they are to say, in order to accustom them by degrees, to go alone and without assistance. It will afterwards be proper to leave them entirely to their own genius, lest by being habituated to do nothing without help, they should fall into an idle slothful disposition, which may prevent their attempting to invent and digest of themselves. ^k Something like this is observable in birds; whilst their young ones are tender and weak, the parent brings them food, but when they gather more strength, she accustoms them to go out of the nest, and teaches them to fly, by fluttering round them; and, at last, having made trial of their strength, she makes them take wing, and leaves them to themselves.

Among the duties of a rhetoric professor, the manner of correcting the compositions of scholars, is one of the most important, and no less difficult.

^l Quintilian's reflections on this are extremely judicious, and may be very useful to masters. They may learn from them particularly to avoid an essential defect in their profession, which is more dangerous, as it proceeds from too much wit and delicacy; I mean the correcting the compositions of youth with too great severity and exactness.

Quintilian

ⁱ Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 7.

^k Cui rei simile quiddam facientes aves cernimus; quae, teneris infirmisque foetibus cibos ore suo collatos partiuntur; atque cum visi sunt adulti, paululum egredi nidis, et circumvolare seculum illam praecedentes ipsae docent: tum expertas vices libenter coelo suaeque ipsorum fiducia permittunt. Quintil. l. 2. c. 7.

^l Lib. 2. c. 4.

Quintilian had treated of two kinds of narration, the one dry and unadorned, the other too luxuriant, too florid and embellished. “Both, says he, are faulty; but the first especially, as it denotes sterility, which is worse than the other proceeding from too fertile a genius. For we must neither require nor expect a perfect discourse from a child, but I should conceive great hopes of a fruitful genius, a genius that can produce without assistance, and make noble attempts, though it should sometimes take too great liberties. I am not offended to meet with some superfluities in the compositions of young people: I would even have a master like a good nurse, full of indulgence for his tender pupils, give them sweet nourishment, and permit them to feed, as on delicious milk, on whatever is most gay and agreeable. Let us indulge them a little in their rhetorical wantonness, if I may be allowed the expression; let us suffer them to take some bold steps, to strike out, and delight in their own inventions, though their productions be neither correct nor just. It is easy to correct too great a redundancy, but a barren genius has no remedy.

“Those who have read Cicero, continues Quintilian, know very well, that I only follow his opinion.”

“*Virum utrumque: paucius tamen illud quod ex inopia quam quod ex copia venit. Nam in pueris oratio perfecta ne exigi nec sperari potest: melior autem est indoles laeta generisque conatus, et, ut plura iusto concipiens interim spiritus. Nec unquam me in his discens annis offendet, si quid super fuerit. Quin ipsis doctoribus hoc esse curae velim, ut tenerae adhuc mentes more nutricum mollius alant, et satari vel quodam jucundioris disciplinae laque patiantur. — Audent haec aetas plura, et inveniat, et inventis gaudeat, sint licet illa interim non satis sicca et severa. Facile remedium est ubertati sterilia nullo labore vincuntur. — Q. l. 2. c. 4.*

“Quod me de his aetatibus sentire nemo mirabitur, qui apud Ciceronem legerit: *Volo enim se effrat in adolescente facundia. Quapropter in primis evitandus, et in pueris praecipue, magister aridus, non minus quam teneris adhuc plantis ficum et ne humore ullo solum. Inde sunt humiles statim, et velut*

nion in this place, which he explains thus in the second book *de Oratore*. *I would have a young man,* says he, *give his genius its full scope, and discover fertility.* Frigidity in masters is as dangerous, especially for children, as a dry and a scorched soil for tender plants. A young man in their hands is always grovelling, and never has the courage to take noble flights, or attempt any thing above the common level. The want of flesh, leanness, passes with them for health; and what they call judgment, is mere impotence. They fancy 'tis enough to have no faults; but even in that, they fall in to a very great one, which is, not to have one excellency."

• I must likewise observe, that nothing checks and damps the genius of children more than a master, who is over severe and too difficult to be pleased; for then they are dejected, despair of success, and at last conceive an aversion for study; and, what is as prejudicial on these occasions, while they are in perpetual fear, they dare not attempt even to do well.

• Let a master then take particular care to make himself agreeable to youth, especially in their tender years, in order to soften, by his engaging behaviour, whatever may seem harsh in correcting; let him sometimes applaud one passage, find another tolerably well; change this, and give his reasons for it; amend that, by adding something of his own; which is the method he should follow.

"The

ram spectantes, qui nihil supra quotidianum sermonem attollere audeant. Macies illis pro sanitate, et judicii loco infirmitas est: et dum satis putant vitio carere, in idipsum incidunt vitium, quod virtutibus carent. Ibid.

• Ne illud quidem quod admoneamus indignum est, ingenia puerorum nimia interim emendationis severitate deficere. Nam et desperant, et dolent, et novissime oderunt: et, quod maxime nocet, dum omnia timent, nihil conantur. Ibid.

• Jucundus ergo tum maxime debet esse praeceptor: ut, quae alioqui naturâ sunt aspera, molli manu leniantur: laudare aliqua, ferre quaedam, mutare etiam, reddita cur id fiat ratione; illuminare interponendo aliquid sui. Ibid.

¶ “ The difference of age ought also to be considered, in the manner of correcting exercises, which should be proportioned to the progress scholars have made. As to myself, when I sometimes found their stile too florid, and their thoughts more bold than just, I used to tell them, it was very well for the present, but that a time would come, when I should not be so easy with them. This flattered their genius, and did not deceive their judgment.”

I have nothing to add to these excellent reflections, except what Quintilian himself has said in another place, where he treats of the duty and qualifications of a master. ¶ “ Let him not deny youth, says he, the praises they deserve, neither would I have him to be too lavish of them; for the former discourages, and the latter makes them too secure, which may be of dangerous consequence. When he meets with any thing that requires correction, he ought not to treat his pupils with bitter or reproachful language; for nothing gives them so much aversion to learning, as the being continually reprov'd with a gloomy air, the seeming effect of hatred.”

We see by this admirable passage, of which part only is copied, that the duty of a master in correcting the exercises of his pupils, does not consist merely in censuring improper expressions and thoughts, but in explaining the reason of their being so, and in substituting others; that he must supply them immediately with such phrases and periods, as may ex-

¶ *Aliter autem alia aetas emendanda est, et pro modo virium exigendum et corrigendum opus. Solebam ego dicere pueris aliquid ausis licentius aut laetius, laudare illud me adhuc: venturum tempus quo idem non permitterem. Ita et ingenio gaudebant, et iudicio non falsebantur. Ibid.*

¶ *In laudandis discipulorum dictionibus nec malignus, nec effusus: quia res altera taedium laboris, altera securitatem parit. In emendando quae corrigenda erant, non acerbus, minimeque contumeliosus. Nam id quidem multos à proposito studendi fugat, quod quidam sic objurgant, quasi oderint. Quint. lib. 1. c. 1.*

alt and adorn their exercises; which when he does not approve, he should make them go over again. He should dictate from time to time the substance of the corrections to be made; at least some part of it, which may afterwards serve for models. Above all, he must take care not to discourage his pupils by too severe an air; but, on the contrary, animate and cherish them with hopes of success, by moderate and seasonable applause, and by all the methods that can excite emulation and a love of study in the minds of young people.

This emulation is one of the great advantages of university or school education; and Quintilian does not fail to lay it down as a most powerful reason for preferring a public to a private education.

“A child, says he, can learn nothing at home, except what he is taught; but at schools, he learns what is taught others. He will daily see his master approving one thing, correcting another, blaming the idleness of this boy, applauding the diligence of that. Every thing will be of use to him. The love of fame will inspire him with emulation: he will be ashamed to be excelled by his equals, and even pant to surpass the most forward. This animates youth; and though ambition is a vice, we, however may draw some good from it, and make it useful.”

He afterwards speaks of the custom of giving places in the class once a month; and though this seems inconsiderable and common, he does not fail to treat it with his usual wit and sprightliness. “Regular

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B

“exami-

* Adde quod domi ea sola discere potest, quae ipsi praecipiantur: in schola, etiam quae aliis. Audiet multa quotidie probari, multa corrigi: proderit alicujus objurgata desidia, proderit laudata industria: excitabitur laude aemulatio: turpe ducet cedere pari, pulchrum superasse majores. Accendunt omnia haec animos: et licet ipsa vitium sit ambitio, frequenter tamen causa virtutum est. Quintil. l. 1. c. 3.

* Hujus rei judicia praebebantur. Ea nobis ingens palmae contentio. Ducere vero classẽ multo pulcherrimum. Nec de hoc semel decretum erat: tricesimus dies reddebat victo certaminis

“ examinations were appointed, says he, for judging
 “ of the progress the scholars had made in their studies; and what endeavours did we not use to gain
 “ the victory? But to be the first in the class, and
 “ at the head of the rest, was the chief object of
 “ our ambition. However, the decision in this case
 “ was not final; for at a month’s end, he who was
 “ vanquished was allowed to revive the dispute,
 “ which thereby became warmer and more obstinate;
 “ for the one omitted nothing to keep the
 “ advantage he had gained, and the other prompted
 “ by shame and grief, found sufficient force to surmount his disgrace. I am very sure, this method
 “ gave us more courage, and inspired us with a
 “ greater desire to learn, than the exhortations of
 “ our masters, the vigilance of our inspectors, or
 “ the earnest wishes of our parents.”

If I might be allowed to join my reflections and practice with those of so great a master as Quintilian, I would add another custom (of great service to me) to that of distributing places regularly once a month, which ought never to be neglected, not even in the higher classes. This was, to propose some prizes, but without fixing on any particular day, for one or two of the scholars who had succeeded best in a common exercise. Sometimes they were obliged to conquer twice to gain the prize. To raise some emulation likewise in those of indifferent capacities, I separated them from such as had the best, and proposed prizes also for them. By this method I kept the whole class in continual exercise. All their compositions were as much laboured as those which were made for places; and the scholars were like soldiers who every moment expect the signal of battle, and therefore held themselves continually in readiness.

ARTICLE

minis potestatem. Ita nec superior successu curam demittebat; et dolor victum ad depellendam ignominiam concitabat. Id nobis acriores ad studia discendi faces subdidisse, quam exhortationes docentium, paedagogorum custodiam, vota parentum, quantum animi mei conjectura colligere possum, contenderim. Ibid.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

An ESSAY on the Method of forming Youth for Composition, either by Word of Mouth, or by Writing.

THE easiest method of teaching youth the art of composing, is to exercise them, first, by word of mouth, in making themes upon subjects treated of by good Latin or French authors. As the master must be supposed to have carefully perused the place he has chosen; to have studied the order, disposition, proofs, thoughts, turns and expressions, he may very easily, (with the assistance of a few hints) enable them to find readily a part of what they are to say; and even, in some measure, the manner of turning every thought. After they have taken some pains about each part, the master should read the passage in the author, and endeavour to display all the art and beauties of it. When they have been exercised for some time in this manner, some subjects should be given them to be composed in writing, which, if possible, should be extracted from the best authors, and studied more deliberately at home.

I shall propose some examples in both kinds; but shall cite here only one passage from a Roman author, because the reader will find several others in the sequel. The relation of Canius's adventure, cited in number VI. of the first article, where the plain or simple kind is treated; and the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, given in article II. of § II., which relates to the thoughts, may serve as examples for narrations.

I. *Elogium of Caesar's clemency.*

Marcellus declared himself an enemy to Cæsar upon all occasions, and that in a very injurious and open manner. However, when Cæsar returned to

B 2.

Rome,

Rome, he was very willing to pardon Marcellus, at the senate's request, and to receive him into favour.

Suppose this conduct were to be extolled: For that end it is natural enough to draw a comparison between the action and Cæsar's victories, and to give the former the preference. This then shall stand as the proposition, to which all this common place will refer.

Cæsar's clemency in pardoning Marcellus is much more glorious than all his victories.

But this proposition must be handled with great art and delicacy. The pupils should be asked, if there be no reason to fear that this comparison, which seemingly tends to lessen the splendor of Cæsar's victories, will be offensive to a conqueror, who is commonly jealous of that kind of glory. To prevent so ill an effect, the scholars must be told, they should begin by making a great encomium on his military actions, which Cicero has done in a wonderful manner. This rule in rhetoric shall be explained hereafter under the title of *Oratorical precautions*.

^u *Nullius * tantum est flumen ingenii, nulla dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis tantaque copia, quæ, non dicam exornare,*

^u Pro Marcel. n. 4. 10.

* Never, Cæsar, will eloquence, with all its pomp and abundance, never will the greatest genius be able to express the grandeur of your exploits, much less to add the least lustre to them, by the manner of relating them. I dare however affirm, and you will permit me to say it in your presence, that among so many illustrious actions, none is more glorious to you, than that whereof we are now witnesses. I often reflect, and find a real pleasure in publishing, that the noble actions of our most celebrated generals, those of the most renowned princes, or of the most warlike nations, cannot be compared with yours; whether we consider the greatness of wars, the multitude of battles, the different countries, the rapidity of conquests, or the diversity of enterprizes. By your victories, you have subdued a great number of regions, vastly distant from one another, and these you conquered as expeditiously as another would travel through them. And I should be void of all sense not to own, that such exploits are almost superior to any ideas we can form to ourselves of them. They have, however, something still greater and more astonishing.

exornare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possit: tamēn hoc affirmo, et hoc pace dicam tua, nullam in his esse laudem ampliorem, quam eam, quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo sæpe ante oculos ponere, idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas, cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero præliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec dissimilitudine bellorum posse conferri: nec vero disjunctissimas terras citius cujusquam passibus potuisse peragrari, quam tuis, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis illustratæ sunt. (alias, lustratæ sunt.) Quæ quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim: sed tamen sunt alia majora.

After taking this precaution, he proceeds to compare the military actions of Cæsar with his clemency, in reinstating Marcellus; and this kind of clemency is preferred to his exploits for three reasons, which may easily occur to young people, at least the two first.

I. REASON. A general cannot ascribe all the glory of a victory solely to himself; whereas that of Cæsar's clemency is personal and entirely his own. This is the simple proposition; and it is the business of eloquence, to enlarge upon, to display, and place it in the strongest light. Tutors direct young persons by proper questions, to find of themselves several circumstances, which shew a general has no more than a share of the glory arising from victories; and add, 'tis not so with regard to that which Cæsar acquired by pardoning Marcellus.

** Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis, easque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum mili-*

B 3

tibus,

** For as to military actions, some pretend to lessen their lustre, by asserting, that the private soldier shares the glory with his general, who, for that reason, cannot appropriate the whole to himself. And indeed, the valour of the troops, the advantage of commodious posts and encampments, the assistance of allies,*

tibus, ne propria sint imperatorum. Et certe in armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, commeatus, multum juvant. Maximam vera partem quasi suo jure fortuna sibi vendicat, et quidquid est prospere gestum, id pene omne ducit suum.

Y At vero hujus gloriæ, C. Cæsar, quam es paulo ante adeptus, socium habes neminem. Totum hoc, quantumcumque est, quod certe maximum est, totum est, inquam, tuum. Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit. Quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina fortuna, in istius se societatem gloriæ non offert. Tibi cedit: tuam esse totam et propriam fatetur. Nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, nec ad consilium casus admittitur.

II. REASON. 'Tis easier to conquer an enemy than to surmount one's passions.

z Domuisti gentes immanitate barbaras, multitudine innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes:

allies, naval forces, and seasonable convoys, contribute very much to victory. But fortune, above all, thinks she has a right to the greatest share of it; and looks upon herself as almost the sole cause of success.

y But in this case, Cæsar, you have no companion, no competitor to dispute glory with you. How bright, how august forever it be, (and nothing can be more so) 'tis all your own. Neither the soldier nor the officer, the infantry or cavalry, have any pretensions to it. Fortune herself, that haughty disposer of human events, cannot rob you of the least part of that honour: she yields it entirely to you, and acknowledges it wholly yours: for temerity and chance are never found where wisdom and prudence preside.

z You have subdued innumerable nations with their cities and fortresses, terrible from their ferocity, and provided with every thing necessary for defence. But then, you conquered only what was adapted by nature and condition to be conquered. For nothing is so powerful or formidable, but may be overcome by superior force. But to overcome one's self, to still resentment, to temper victory, to raise a discomfited enemy, an enemy considerable by his birth, his capacity and courage, and not only to raise him from a dejected state, but promote him to greater honours and dignities than he possessed before: he, I say, who does this, is not to be compared with the greatest of mankind, but, in my opinion, is most like the immortal gods.

abundantes: sed tamen ea vicisti quæ et naturam et conditionem ut vinci possent habebant. Nulla est enim tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit. Verum animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere; victoriam temperare, adversarium nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem, non modo extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem: hæc qui faciat, non ego eum cum summis viris comparo, sed simillimum Deo judico.

III. REASON. There is something tumultuous in battles, the bare relation of which occasions a kind of like disorder in the soul; whereas acts of beneficence and clemency sooth the mind agreeably, and gain the affections of all who hear them related.

a Itaque, C. Cæsar, bellicæ tuæ laudes, celebrabuntur illæ quidem non solum nostris, sed pene omnium gentium literis atque linguis; neque ulla unquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticescet: sed tamen ejusmodi res, etiam dum audiuntur aut dum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur et tubarum sono. At vero cum aliquid clementer, mansuete, juste, moderate, sapienter factum, in iracundia præsertim quæ est inimica consilio, et in victoria quæ natura insolens et superba est, aut audimus aut legimus: quo studio incendimur, non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos sæpe, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus?

b Te vero, quem præsentem intuemur, cujus mentem sensusque

a Your conquests, Cæsar, will indeed be read in our annals, and those of almost all nations; nor will they be forgot by the latest posterity. But when we read or hear relations of wars and battles, it so happens, I know not how, that the admiration they excite, is in some measure interrupted by the tumultuous cries of soldiers, and the clangour of trumpets. On the contrary, the recital of an action where clemency, lenity, justice, moderation, and wisdom, are conspicuous, especially if it be performed in anger, ever averse to reflection, and in the midst of victory, which is naturally haughty and insolent; the relation, I say, of an action like this, even in feigned history, inspires such kind, such lively sentiments of benevolence and esteem for the authors, that we cannot avoid loving them, though we have not the least knowledge of their persons.

b But you, Cæsar, whom we have the happiness to see; you whose

*sensusque nos cernimus, ut, quicquid belli fortuna reli-
quum reipublica fecerit, id esse salvum velis, quibus lau-
dibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur? qua be-
nevolentia complectemur? Parietes medius fidius, C.
Caesar, ut mihi videtur, hujus curiae tibi gratias age-
re gestiunt, quod brevi tempore futura sit illa auctori-
tas in his majorum suorum et suis sedibus.*

A subject in writing for a French theme.

The theme is to display the religion and piety of marshal Turenne, even in the midst of battles and victories.

The orator must begin with a common place, to represent how difficult it is for a general, at the head of a great army, neither to be elate with pride, nor to consider himself infinitely superior to the rest of mankind. Even the aspect of war, the noise of arms, the cries of soldiers, &c. conspire to make him forget what he himself and what God is. It was on such occasions Salmonius, Antiochus and Pharaoh, had the presumption and impiety to think themselves gods; but it must be confessed, that religion and humility never appear more illustrious, than when they render a man submissive and obedient to God in such high fortunes.

It was on such occasions that M. Turenne gave the greatest proofs of his piety: he was often seen to withdraw into woods, and in the midst of the rain and dirt, prostrate himself before God. He ordered prayers to be said in the camp every day, at which he assisted in person with singular devotion.

Even in the heat of battle, when success appeared infallible, and news was brought him of it from all
quar-

whose heart, whose very soul we know; you who have no designs but such as tend to preserve the commonwealth, as much of it as has escaped the rage of war: What praises shall we pay you? by what demonstration of zeal and respect shall we profess our acknowledgment? Yes, Caesar, all things here are sensible of this act of generosity; even these walls seem to express their joy for the design you have of restoring them to their ancient splendor, and the senate to its former authority.

quarters; he used to suppress the joy of the officers, by saying, "If God does not support us, and finish his work, we may still be defeated."

When this theme is read a second time to scholars, they must be told which parts of it ought to be enlarged upon; and some hints must be given for assisting them to find thoughts.

The foregoing subject as treated by M. Mascaron, in the funeral oration of M. Turenne.

"Do not imagine, Sirs, that our hero lost these religious sentiments, at the head of armies, and in the midst of victories. Certainly, if there's any conjuncture in which the soul, full of itself, is in danger of forgetting God, it is in those illustrious stations where a man becomes as a god to others, by the wisdom of his conduct, the greatness of his courage, the strength of his arm, and the number of his soldiers; and being wholly inspired with glory, inspires all besides with love, admiration or terror. Even the externals of war, the sound of trumpets, the glitter of arms, the order of the troops, the silence of the soldiers, their ardor in fight; the beginning, progress and end of the victory; the different cries of the conquered and the conquerors; all these assist the soul on different sides, which, deprived of all wisdom and moderation, knows neither God, nor itself. It is then the impious Salmoneus pretumes to imitate the thunder of God; and to answer the thunderbolts of heaven with those of the earth. It was then the sacrilegious Antiochus worshipped nothing but his own strength and courage; and the insolent Pharaoh, swollen with the pride of his power, cried out, I am my own maker. But do religion and humility ever appear more majestic, than when they keep the heart of man, though in so exalted a point of glory, in that submission and dependence which the creature ought to observe with regard to his God?"

"M.

" M. Turenne was never more sensible that there
 " was a God over his head, than on those extraor-
 " dinary occasions, when others generally forget their
 " Creator. It was then his prayers were most fer-
 " vent. We have seen him retiring into woods,
 " where in the midst of rain, with his knees in the
 " dirt, he adored that God in this humble posture
 " before whom legions of angels tremble, and pro-
 " strate themselves. The Israelites, to secure them-
 " selves of victory, ordered the ark of the covenant
 " to be brought into their camp; and M. Turenne
 " did not believe his could be safe, if not fortified
 " daily by the oblation of the divine victim, who tri-
 " umphed over all the powers of hell. He assisted
 " it with a devotion and modesty capable of inspi-
 " ring awe in those obdurate souls, on whom the
 " sight of the most tremendous mysteries makes no
 " impression.

" Even in the progress of victory itself, and in
 " those moments of self-love, when a general sec-
 " fortune declare in his favour; his piety was watch-
 " ful, to prevent his giving the jealous God the least
 " offence, by too hasty an assurance of conquering
 " Though the cries of victory echoed round him,
 " though the officers flattered themselves and him
 " also with assurance of success; he still checked
 " the extreme emotions of joy, in which human pride
 " has so great a share, by these words, highly wor-
 " thy of his piety; *If God does not support us, and*
 " *accomplish his work, we may still be defeated.*"

The same topic taken from M. Flechier.

The orator begins with saying, M. Turenne has
 shewn by his example, that piety is attended with
 success; and that a warrior is invincible, when his
 faith is strong. He referred the glory of his victo-
 ries to God alone, and placed his confidence in him
 only.

The orator then gives an instance of some military action. That great man attacked all the forces of Germany with a few troops. The battle was obstinate and doubtful. At length the enemy began to retire. The French cry out, Victory is sure. But M. Turenne says to them, *Hold, our fate is not in our own power, and we ourselves shall be vanquished, if the Lord does not assist us*; and so turning his eyes to heaven, he waits for the victory from God alone.

Here the orator adds a brief common place, to shew how hard it is to be victorious, and humble at the same time. Two thoughts, which must be variously turned, and represented in different lights, form this common place. It is usual for a conqueror to ascribe the victory to himself, and to look upon himself as the author of it; and though he returns God public thanks for it, it is however to be feared, he secretly reserves to himself some share of the glory which is due to God alone.

M. Turenne did not act in that manner. When he marches, when he defends a place, when he is intrenched, when he fights, when he triumphs, he expects all from, and refers every thing to, God. Each part must have a peculiar thought.

"M. Turenne has shewn, that courage is of more exalted force, when supported by religious principles; that there is a pious magnanimity which induces success in spite of dangers and obstacles; and that a warrior, whose soul is inspired with faith, and lifts up pure hands to the God of battles who directs them, is invincible.

"As M. Turenne owes all his glory to God, so he refers it all to him, and has no other confidence, but that which is founded in the name of the Lord. Why cannot I here relate one of those important actions, in which he attacked all the forces of Germany with a few troops! he marches three days, "passes

“ passes three rivers, comes up with the enemy, fights
 “ them. Numbers on one side, and valour on the other,
 “ ther, hold fortune long in suspense. At last courage
 “ rage repels the multitude; the enemy are confused
 “ and begin to retire. The cry of victory is heard.
 “ The general then suspends all the emotions which
 “ the heat of battles excites, and says with a severe
 “ tone; *Hold, our fate is not in our own hands, and we*
 “ *ourselves shall be defeated, if the Lord does not assist*
 “ *us.* At these words, he turns his eyes towards heaven,
 “ ven, whence he receives assistance; and continuing
 “ ing to give his orders, waits submissively, between
 “ hope and fear, the decisions of heaven.

“ How difficult is it, to be victorious and humble
 “ at the same time! The successes of war leave,
 “ know not what sensible pleasure in the soul, which
 “ fills and possesses it entirely. We ascribe to our-
 “ selves a superiority of power and strength: we crow
 “ ourselves with our own hands: we form a secret
 “ triumph within ourselves: we look upon those labours
 “ reils which are gathered with labour and pains, and
 “ are often bedewed with our blood, as our property
 “ ty; and even when we give God solemn thanks
 “ and hang up in churches the torn and bloody cap-
 “ tures of the enemy; what danger is there that vanity
 “ nity may suppress some part of the acknowledgments
 “ that we mingle the applauses we imagine our own
 “ due, with the vows we make to the Lord; and that
 “ serve to ourselves some small portion of the in-
 “ cense we are going to burn upon his altars!

“ It was on these occasions, that M. Turenne dis-
 “ vesting himself of all his pretensions, ascribed all the
 “ glory to him alone to whom it rightfully belongs.
 “ If he marches, he acknowledges it is God that con-
 “ ducts and guides him. If he defends strong holds,
 “ he is sensible the enemy will dispossess him of them
 “ if God is not on his side. If he is intrenched, he
 “ thinks God makes a rampart to secure him from
 “ all insults. If he fights, he knows from whence

“ he derives all his strength ; and if he triumphs, he
 “ thinks he sees an invifible hand crowning him from
 “ heaven.”

I fhall here fubjoin fome paffages extracted from the beft authors, which feem very proper to form the tafte of youth, both for ftudy and compofition. What generally gives the greateft beauty to difcourfes of the demonftrative kind, are descriptions, parallels, and common places. In order to know all their art and delicacy, we have nothing to do, but to divest them of all ornaments, and exprefs them in a common and ordinary manner ; 'tis that I call the reducing of things to a fimple propofition. I fhall endeavour to give examples of this in each kind.

DESCRIPTIONS.

I. *The retired life of M. de Lamoignon in the country, during vacations.*

A fimple propofition. I wifh I could represent him to you, when he went to pafs the vacation at Bafville, after all his labours and fatigues in the court of judicature. You would then fee him fometimes employed in husbandry ; fometimes meditating on the harangues he was to make at the opening of the court ; fometimes reconciling the differences of the peafants in one of the alleys of his garden.

“ Why cannot I represent him to you as he was, when he went to lay afide the burthen of his employment, and to enjoy a noble repofe, in his retreat at Bafville, after a tedious fatigue ; at a diftance from the noife of the town, and the hurry of bufinefs ? You would fee him apply himfelf fometimes to the innocent amufements of husbandry, raising his thoughts to the invifible things of God, by the vifible wonders of nature. Sometimes meditating upon the eloquent and folid difcourfes, which taught and infpired juftice every year ; in
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* The funeral oration of M. de Lamoignon by M. Flechier,

“ which he described himself, without design, by
 “ forming the idea of a good man. Sometimes re-
 “ conciling differences which animosity, jealousy, or
 “ evil counsel occasions among country people ; bet-
 “ ter pleased, and perhaps greater before God, when
 “ he established the repose of a poor family, at the
 “ bottom of a shady walk, and upon a tribunal of
 “ turf, than when he disposed of the most splendid
 “ fortunes on the supreme seat of justice.”

II. The modesty of M. Turenne. His private life.

A simple proposition. No person ever spoke more modestly of himself than M. Turenne. He related his most surprising victories, as if he had had no share in them. At his return from the most glorious campaigns, he avoided praise, and was afraid of appearing in the king's presence, for fear of applause. It was then, in a private state, among a few friends, he exercised himself in the virtues of civil life. He conceals himself, and walks without attendance or equipage : but every one observes and admires him.

“ Who ever performed such great exploits, and
 “ who more reserved in speaking of them ? When
 “ he gained an advantage, he himself ascribed it to
 “ the enemy's oversight, and not to his own abili-
 “ ties. When he gave an account of a battle, he
 “ forgot nothing, but its being gained by his own
 “ conduct. If he related any of those actions which
 “ had rendered him so famous, one would have con-
 “ cluded, he had only been a bare spectator, and
 “ might doubt whether he himself or fame were
 “ mistaken. When he returned from those glori-
 “ ous campaigns, which immortalize him, he avoid-
 “ ed all acclamations of the people ; he blushed at
 “ his victories ; he received applause with the same
 “ air that others make apologies, and was almost a-
 “ fraid of waiting upon the king, being obliged,
 “ through respect, to hear patiently the encomiums
 “ with which his Majesty never failed to honour him.”

• M. Turenne's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.

"It was then, in the calm repose of a private state, that this prince, divesting himself of all the glory he had acquired in the field, and shutting himself up with a small company of chosen friends, practised in silence the virtues of civil life: sincere in his words, plain in his actions, faithful in friendship, exact in duties, regular in his wishes, and great, even in the minutest things. He conceals himself; but his fame discovers him. He walks without attendance; but every one imagines him riding in a triumphal chariot. When people see him, they count the number of the enemies he has conquered, and not the attendants that follow him. Though alone, they conceive him surrounded with his attendant virtues and victories. There is something inexpressibly great and noble in this virtuous simplicity; and the less haughty he is, the more venerable he appears."

III. *The honourable reception M. de Turenne met with from the King, upon his return from the campaign. His modesty.*

A simple proposition. Renowned captains under the Roman emperors were obliged, upon their return from the field, to avoid meeting their friends; and to come into the city by night, that they might not excite the jealousy of the prince, who used to receive them with great coldness; after which they stood undistinguished in the crowd. M. Turenne had the good fortune to live under a king, who bestowed the highest applauses upon him, and, had he been desirous of riches, would have lavished them upon him. He returned from the field as a private person comes from taking a walk. The looks, the praises, the acclamations of all the people made no impression on him.

"Suffer me to put you in mind of those unhappy ages of the Roman empire, when private men

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were

' M. Turenne's funeral oration, by M. Mascaron.

“ were not permitted to be virtuous or renowned;
 “ because the princes were so wicked, that they pu-
 “ nished both virtue and glory. After their gene-
 “ rals had conquered provinces and kingdoms, they
 “ were obliged upon their return to avoid meeting
 “ their friends; to come into the city by night, to
 “ prevent their drawing too much the eyes of the
 “ people upon them; so far were they from aspiring
 “ to the honour of a triumph. A cold embrace,
 “ without the least conference or discourse, was all
 “ the reception a prince gave to a man who had sa-
 “ ved the empire. After returning from the empe-
 “ ror’s cabinet, through which he only passed, he
 “ was forced to mix among the crowd of other
 “ slaves. & *Exceptusque brevi osculo, nullo sermone,*
 “ *turbæ servientium immixtus est.*”

“ M. Turenne had the happiness to live under,
 “ and serve a monarch, whose virtue cannot be e-
 “ cliped by that of his subjects. No grandeur or
 “ glory can cloud the sun which enlightens us; and
 “ the most important actions atchieved by subjects
 “ never give any uneasiness to a prince whose own
 “ magnanimity convinces him that he deserves them.
 “ And indeed, the marks of esteem and confidence
 “ which the king shewed M. Turenne, were equi-
 “ valent to the glory of a triumph. The rewards
 “ would likewise have been as great as those distinc-
 “ tions, had the king found him inclinable to receive
 “ favours. But that which was the effect of good
 “ policy in the unhappy times, when virtue had no
 “ thing to fear so much as its lustre, was in him the
 “ result of natural and artless modesty.

“ He returned from his triumphant campaigns
 “ with the same indifference and tranquillity, as if
 “ he had come from taking a walk; not so much
 “ affected with his own glory as the rest of the
 “ world were; whilst the people thronged in vain
 “ to see him. Those who had the honour to know
 “ pointed him out in assemblies, with their eyes

“ their

“ their gestures, and voices, to such as did not.
 “ Though his presence only, without any attend-
 “ ance or equipage, made that almost divine impres-
 “ sion on the minds of people, which so strongly
 “ engages respect, and is the sweetest and most in-
 “ nocent fruit of heroic virtue; yet all these cir-
 “ cumstances, so apt to make a man conceive either
 “ a secret vanity of himself, or express it by his out-
 “ ward behaviour, wrought no change in the tran-
 “ quillity of his soul; and for aught he cared, his
 “ victories and triumphs might have been buried in
 “ oblivion.”

IV. *The Queen of England's escape by sea.*

A simple proposition. The queen was obliged to leave her kingdom. She sailed out of the English ports in sight of the rebel fleet, which pursued her close. This voyage was far different from that she had made on the same sea, when she went to take possession of the scepter of Great Britain. At that time every thing was propitious; now all the reverse.

b “ The queen was obliged to leave her kingdom.
 “ And indeed she sailed out of the English ports in
 “ sight of the rebellious navy, which chased her so
 “ close, that she almost heard their cries and inso-
 “ lent threats. Alas! how different was this voyage
 “ from that she made on the same sea, when, com-
 “ ming to take possession of the scepter of Great
 “ Britain, she saw the billows smooth themselves,
 “ as it were, under her, to pay homage to the
 “ queen of the seas! Now chased, pursued by her
 “ implacable enemies, who had been so audacious
 “ as to draw up an accusation against her: some-
 “ times just escaped, sometimes just taken; her for-
 “ tune shifting every quarter of an hour, having
 “ no other assistance but God and her own invinci-

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“ ble

^b The queen of England's funeral oration, by M. Bossuet.

“ble fortitude ; she had neither winds nor fails e-
 “nough to favour her precipitate flight.”

P A R A L L E L S.

So I call those passages in which the orator draws together and compares contrary or different objects. These paintings are very pleasing to the mind, from the variety of images they present to it, and very much embellish a discourse. We have already taken notice of some of them in the preceding descriptions, and will now give some more examples.

I. PARALLEL *between M. Turenne and the Cardinal de Bouillon.*

A simple proposition. While M. Turenne was employed in taking fortresses and conquering the enemy, the Cardinal de Bouillon was converting heretics, and repairing churches.

i “How great was his joy, after the taking of
 “fortresses, to see his illustrious nephew, more glo-
 “rious by his virtues than by his awful robes, open-
 “ing and reconsecrating churches, under the direc-
 “tion of a monarch equally pious and powerful.
 “The one advanced military glory, the other holy
 “religion : the one beat down ramparts, the other
 “repaired altars : the one ravaged the lands of the
 “Philistines, the other carried the ark around the
 “tents of Israel ; and then uniting their wishes, as
 “before their hearts, the nephew shared in the ser-
 “vices the uncle performed for the state ; and the
 “uncle partook of those performed by the nephew
 “for the church.”

II. PARALLEL *between violent and languishing diseases.*

k “’Tis true, he did not undergo those cruel
 “pains which pierce the body, rend the soul, and
 “in a moment extinguish the constancy of a sick
 “person. But if God’s mercy softened the rigour
 “of

i M. Turenne’s funeral oration, by M. Flechier.

k M. Montausier’s funeral oration, by M. Flechier.

of his repentance, his justice increased its duration; and as much strength of mind was requisite to support that long trial, as if it had been shorter and more severe.

Indeed, nature collects her whole strength, when attacked by sudden and violent diseases; the heart fortifies itself with its whole fund of constancy. Excess of pain, on these occasions, makes us more insensible; and if we suffer much, we have still the comfort of thinking we shall not suffer long. But languishing diseases are so much the more severe, as we cannot foresee when they will end. We must bear both with the sickness and the medicines, which are no less grievous. Nature is every day more and more oppressed: its strength decays every instant; and patience grows weak, as well as the person who suffers."

III. PARALLEL. *The Queen serving the poor in the hospital, and sharing in the King's glory and triumphs.*

"Faithful companions of her piety, who now bewail her death, you followed her, when she walked in this christian pomp, between two lines of poor, sick or dying persons; greater far in thus voluntarily divesting herself of her grandeur, and more glorious in imitating the humility and patience of Jesus Christ, than when she shared in the glory and triumphs of the king her consort, in a splendid and triumphant car, between two lines of victorious soldiers."

IV. PARALLEL *between a wicked and an ignorant judge.*

"He would have thought it the most essential defect in his employments, not to have made his intentions

¹ The Queen's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.

^m M. Lamoignon's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.

"tentions as clear and obvious, as he believed them
 "upright and just; and indeed, it was an usual saying
 "with him, that there was little difference between
 "a corrupt and an ignorant judge: the one has, at
 "least the precepts of his duty, and the image of his
 "injustice before his eyes; but the other sees neither
 "the good nor the evil he does: the one sins witting-
 "ly, and is therefore the more inexcusable; but the
 "other sins without remorse, and is the more incor-
 "rigible; but they are equally criminal with regard
 "to those they condemn, either through mistake or
 "through malice. Whether a person is hurt by a
 "mad or a blind man the pain is still the same. And
 "with regard to those who are undone, it avails
 "little whether it be by a man who deceives them,
 "or one who is himself deceived."

COMMON PLACES.

Having already cited several, I shall give but one
 here, in which the importance and difficulty of the
 employment of the ^a *Lieutenant de police* in Paris are
 represented.

"The inhabitants of a well-governed city enjoy
 "the benefit of its polity, without considering the
 "trouble and pains of those who establish, or preserve
 "it; much after the same manner as all mankind en-
 "joy the benefit of the celestial motions, without any
 "knowledge of them; and even, the more the uni-
 "formity of political order resembles that of the ce-
 "lestial bodies, the less 'tis observable; and consequent-
 "ly, is always less obvious, the more perfect it is. But
 "he who should know it in all its extent, would be
 "astonished. To repair perpetually the immense
 "consumption of the necessaries of life in such a ci-
 "ty as Paris, of which some of the sources may be read-
 "dried up by a multitude of accidents; to restrain
 "the tyranny of tradesmen, with regard to the pub-
 "lic, and at the same time to encourage their traf-

^a A kind of Lord Mayor.

^c M. de Fontenelle.

“sick; to prevent the encroachments of the people
“upon one another, which often are difficult to un-
“ravel; to discover in an infinite multitude all those
“who can so easily conceal their pernicious arts in it;
“to purge the community of, or not to tolerate, them
“farther than as they may be useful to it, by em-
“ployments which none but themselves would under-
“take, or could discharge so well; to keep necessary
“abuses within the exact bounds of the occasions for
“them, through which they are always ready to break;
“to confine them to the obscurity to which they ought
“to be condemned; and not to draw them out of it,
“by too notorious and remarkable punishments; to be
“ignorant of such things as had better be unknown
“than punished; and to punish but seldom, and with
“good effect; to penetrate, by invisible methods, in-
“to the most concealed conduct of families; and to
“keep those secrets which were not trusted, so long
“as there may be no occasion to make use of them;
“to be every where without being seen; in a word,
“to put in motion or restraint at pleasure an infi-
“nite and tumultuous multitude; and to be conti-
“nually the active and almost the unknown soul of
“this great body; these are, in general, the func-
“tions of this magistrate in the city of Paris.
“One would imagine, that a single person,
“were not equal to all this, from the number of
“things he is to take cognisance of; the views and
“designs he must pursue; the application that must
“be used; and the variety of conduct and charac-
“ters he must assume. But the public voice will de-
“clare, whether M. D’Argenson is equal to these
“several functions.”

’Tis obvious, that such models, so beautiful and per-
fect in their kind, being proposed to youth, either for
reading, or for subjects of composition, are very well
adapted to raise their genius, and enlarge the inventive
faculty, especially when explained and illustrated by
an able master; which was one reason that induced

me

me to make choice of these examples in the demonstrative kind, being most susceptible of embellishments.

After they have read a considerable number of these passages selected from good authors, it will be proper to make them observe the difference of styles and characters, and even the faults, if any occur, both in style and language.

I have hitherto cited but four authors; not but there are several others, out of which I might extract the like examples; but it was proper to limit myself to a certain number, and those above fell in my way: they are all extraordinary; but then they are all different, there being no resemblance between any of them, each forming a peculiar character that distinguishes them, and perhaps they may not be without some faults.

What is most distinguishable in M. Flechier, is the purity of diction, elegance of style, rich and florid expressions, beautiful thoughts, a prudent vivacity of imagination, and what is consequential of it, a wonderful art in painting objects, and making them, as it were, sensible and obvious.

But then, I think a kind of monotony and uniformity run through all his writings; he has every where almost the same turns, the same figures, the same method. The antithesis engrosses almost all his thoughts, and often enervates, out of design to adorn them. When that figure is sparingly used, and properly applied, it has a beautiful effect. Thus it happily concludes the magnificent elogium of Lewis XIV. spoken by M. Flechier. *p* *By authority, always a King; by tenderness, always a father.* When it turns on a play of words, it is not so valuable; *q* *Happy he, who did not go in pursuit of riches! More happy he, who refused them, when they went to him!* This figure may even become tedious, though it be ever so just, if it be too often repeated. *r* *Who does not know, she was admired*

p M. le Tellier's funeral oration.

q M. de Lamoignon's funeral oration.

r Mad. de Montausier's funeral oration.

in an age when others are not known? How great was her wisdom, at a time when others have hardly the use of reason! And how able was she to give advice, when others are scarce capable of receiving it!

M. Bossuet writes in a quite different manner. He did not amuse himself with the superficial ornaments of oratory; and even sometimes neglected the too slavish rules of the purity of diction, and aims at the grand, the sublime, and pathetic. It is true indeed, he is less uniform and equal, which is the characteristic of the sublime style: but on the other hand, he raises, ravishes, and transports. The strongest and most lively figures are common, and, as it were, natural to him.

“O admirable mother, wife, and queen! and worthy of better fortune, were the fortunes of this world of any value! But———you must submit to your fate.

“She saw with astonishment, when her hour was come, that God was going to take the King her son, as it were by the hand, to conduct him to his throne. She submitted more than ever to that sovereign hand, which from the highest heavens holds the reins of all empires; and despising the thrones that may be usurped, she fixed all her affection on that kingdom, where there is no fear of rivals, and where competitors view one another without jealousy.”

He draws the portrait of Cromwel, as follows: A man arose of an incredible depth of understanding, a refined hypocrite as well as able politician, capable of undertaking and concealing all things; equally active and indefatigable in peace and war, who never left any thing to fortune which he could force from her by counsel or forecast; but at the same time so vigilant and ready, that he never lost any

The Queen of England's funeral oration. *quo non timent habere consortes. S. Austm.*

Plus arant illud regnum, in

"any opportunity she put in his way. In a word,
 "one of those restless and audacious spirits, that seem
 "born to alter the course of the world."

In another place, he describes the manner in which
 the princess Henrietta Anne of England was almost
 miraculously delivered out of the hands of the rebels.

"^a In spite of the storms of the ocean, and the
 "more violent commotions of the earth, God taking
 "her on his wings, as the eagle does her young ones
 "carries her into that kingdom; places her in the
 "bosom of the Queen her mother, or rather in the
 "bosom of the Catholic Church.

"^x What shall I say more? Hear all in one word
 "Daughter, Wife, Mother, Mistress, Queen; such
 "as our wishes would have form'd her, but what
 "more than all, a Christian Queen; she performed
 "every duty without presumption; and was not on-
 "ly humble amidst all her greatness, but amidst the
 "whole circle of virtues.

"Sword of the Lord, what a blow hast thou not
 "struck! the whole earth is astonished at it.

He sometimes employs antitheses, but they are sub-
 lime in his orations. ^y "Notwithstanding the ill suc-
 "cess of his arms, (meaning King Charles I.) and
 "though his enemies were able to conquer him, yet
 "they were not able to force him to base submissions
 "and as he never refused any thing that was reason-
 "able while a conqueror, so he always rejected what
 "ever was weak and unjust, while a prisoner."

M. Mascaron has something of the character of
 the two authors above-mentioned, but does not re-
 semble them in every respect. He is at the same time
 very elegant and great; but, in my opinion, less flu-
 id than the one, and less sublime than the other.
 Art does not appear with so much ostentation in his

^a The dutchess of Orlean's funeral oration. Teresa of Austria.

^x Funeral oration of Maria funeral oration. ^y The Queen of England's

as in the former, which is a great art; and perhaps his genius was not so fruitful and daring as that of the latter.

y "Heathen Rome would have raised statues to him under the Cæsars; and Christian Rome finds him worthy of admiration under the pontiffs of the religion of Christ Jesus.

"M. Turenne, when conqueror of the enemies of the state, never created so universal and sensible a joy to France, as M. Turenne conquered by truth, and subjected to the yoke of the faith.

"Angels of the highest order in the hierarchy; spirits appointed by Providence to guard this great soul, tell us, how vast was the joy of the church of heaven at the conversion of this prince; and with what rejoicings the first perfumes of the prayers of this new catholic were received; when you wafted them to the foot of the altar of the Lamb reigning in glory, from the foot of the altar of the Lamb sacrificed.

"No man was ever better qualified to exhibit great and noble objects to the world; but no man ever solicited less the applauses of the spectators.

"But though there was nothing harsh in his behaviour on these occasions; yet such was his modesty, that his countenance discovered he thought himself unworthy of praise.

"In his discourse, he was as free from the pomp of modesty, as from that of pride.

"What cannot a great master effect, when he is to form a sublime genius? No sooner had M. Turenne given his first counsels, but he found there was no occasion for more; being prevented by the clear understanding, penetration, the happy and sage impetuosity of this great monarch's² courage. In like manner, as we see the thunder (formed almost in an instant within a cloud) lighten, break out, strike and bear down every thing; so the first fires of military ardour are

“ scarce lighted in the king’s heart, but they sparkle
 “ break out, and strike with terror universally.”

The author of the *Common Place* upon the functions of the lieutenant de police, has a character very different from the three others. The little specimens I gave of it is exquisite, and must appear the more beautiful, because its beauties are less affected though the subject was very susceptible of those bright and florid turns; but he chose rather to express his thoughts in a just and solid manner.

The academic elogiums composed by the same author, being of that kind of eloquence which the Latins call *genus tenue et subtile*; its stile is, as it should be, more simple; but that simplicity is attended with a great deal of wit, as will appear from some select passages I shall now cite: These will show, that “ Ever
 “ thing he says is his own,” to use the same terms this author does in speaking of one of his brother academicians; to which I would willingly subjoin
 “ and his manner of expressing it.”

We there find some images copied from nature and very simple, but at the same time very lively descriptions.

“ M. Dodart, says he, in the elogium of that illustrious member of the royal academy, was naturally grave and serious; and the christian attention with which he always watched over himself was not of a cast to make him change that disposition. But this seriousness, so far from being gloomy or austere, sufficiently discovered a fund of that prudent and lasting joy, which results from the most refined reason and tranquillity of conscience. This disposition is not productive of staidness of gaiety, but of an even sweetness of temper which may however become gaiety for some moments, and by a kind of surprize. And all this united, imparts that air of dignity which belongs only to virtue, and which eminency and station cannot give. M. de Vauban despised that superficial politeness which pleases the generality of people.”

people, and under which a great deal of barbarity is often concealed; but his goodness, humanity, and liberality, formed another kind of politeness more seldom met with; it being intirely that of the heart. It became such an assemblage of virtues to neglect exterior forms, which were indeed natural to him, but which vice can assume with too much facility.

"It is allowed, that Cicero has served as a model for dialogue, and for this method of treating philosophy, (he means the philosophy of M. du Hamel) but he is likewise distinguished by the purity and correctness of his Latin; and, what is still more important, by the great variety of ingenious and delicate expressions, with which his works are interwoven. These are philosophical reasonings, which have happily lost their natural, at least their usual jejuneness, by passing through a florid imagination; and yet without taking any more from it, than a just proportion of beauty. Whatever is to be adorned only to a certain degree, it is always the most difficult to adorn.

"Father Malebranche's *Enquiry after Truth* is distinguished on account of the great art with which it sets abstracted truths in their true light, joins them together, and adds new strength to them from their union. The diction is not only pure and correct, but has all the dignity requisite to the subjects, and all the graces they could admit. Not that he took any pains to cultivate the talents of the imagination; on the contrary, he always undervalued them. But his own was naturally very noble and lively, and laboured for her ungrateful possessor, in spite of himself; and adorned reason, whilst she concealed herself from it.

"Botany is not an idle sedentary science, that may be attained in the calm repose of study. It requires us to ramble over mountains and forests; climb steep rocks, and expose ourselves upon the

“brink of precipices. The only books that can instruct us effectually in this science, have been dispersed at random over the whole surface of the earth; and we must resolve to undergo the fatigue and danger of enquiring after and collecting them.”
 “^a His predominant inclination made him surmount all things. Those frightful and inaccessible rocks with which he was surrounded on all sides in the Pyrenees, were transformed, with respect to him into a magnificent library, where he had the pleasure to find whatever his curiosity required, and where he spent many delightful days.”

The author of the elogiums has the art of applying *à-propos* certain passages from history and antiquity which are very proper to instruct youth in the serious and prudent use to be made of them in composition.

“M. Parent was charged with writing obscurely for we are frank, and follow, in some measure, the law made anciently in Egypt, by which the actions and characters of the dead were examined before judges, in order to determine what was due to their memory.

“A certain king of Armenia asked Nero for an extraordinary player, fit for all parts; that he might have, said he, a whole company in himself alone. So M. de la Hire might have been said to have possessed in himself only a whole academy of sciences.

In speaking of M. Leibnitz, who had acquired almost the whole circle of sciences: “We are, says he, obliged to divide him in this place; and, philosophically speaking, to resolve him into his constituent parts. Of many Hercules’s, the ancient made but one; and of M. Leibnitz alone, we shall make many learned men.

“^b He went into Auvergne, Languedoc, Provence, on the Alps, and the Pyrenees; and did not return, till he had got together numerous collections.”

“loni

^a M. Tournefort.

^b M. Fagon.

"lonies of plants, designed for replanting this desert, that is, the royal garden, which was so unfurnished with plants, that it was in a manner no longer a garden."

If we were allowed to search for imperfections among so many beauties, we might perhaps suspect one to be a certain turn of thoughts, something too uniform, (though they are very much diversified) which terminates the greatest part of the articles by a short and lively turn in a sententious way, and seems instructed to seize the conclusion of the periods, as a post which belongs to itself, exclusively of all others.

What exalts the understanding, should likewise exalt the soul.

The same piety that made him worthy of entering the church, kept him out of it.

The same cause that kept him out, made him worthy of it.

The more the eyes have seen, the more reason itself sees.

That which he believed, he saw: whereas others see ere they believe, &c.

I should be afraid, that a model of such authority might, one day or other, make eloquence degenerate into those touches, called *c stimuli quidam et subiti ictus sententiarum*, by Seneca; which, in the opinion of the same author, seem, by their studied affectation, to beg applause; and which was unknown to the judicious ancients. *d Apud antiquos nondum captabatur plausibilis oratio.*

We must, however, not reject them entirely; for they may give great grace and even strength to discourse, as we often find in the author in question, as I shall take notice elsewhere. But there is reason to fear the abuse of this permission; which obliges me to animadvert often and strenuously upon it.

C H A P. III.

Of the READING and EXPLAINING of AUTHORS.

I HAVE already observed, in treating of the various duties of a professor of rhetoric, with regard to eloquence, that this part was one of the most essential; and may, in one sense, be said to include all the rest. 'Tis, indeed, in the explanation of authors, that the master applies the precepts, and teaches youth to make use of them in composing.

The rules which relate to the explaining of authors, are, no doubt, necessary in a certain degree, to all the classes; but they belong to that of rhetoric more particularly, because the judgment of youth is then more mature, and consequently more capable of improving from those rules: till then, masters are principally intent upon teaching them the rules and principles of grammar, and to make them observe the correctness, purity, and elegance of language. * But the proper duty of a rhetorician is to show them the disposition of an oration, and the beauties and even faults which may occur in it.

“ f He observes to them, in what manner the exordium conciliates the favour and good-will of the auditors; points out the perspicuity and brevity, “ the

* *Demonstrare virtutes, vel si quando ita incidat, vitia, id professionis ejus atque promissi, qui se magistrum eloquentiae pollicetur, maxime proprium est. Quintil. l. 5. c. 2.*

f *Quae in prooemio conciliandi judicis ratio: quae narrandi lux, brevis, fides, quod aliquando consilium et quam occulta calliditas: (namque ea sola in hoc ars est, quae intelligi nisi ab artifice non possit) quanta deinceps in dividendo prudentia: quam subtilis et crebra argumentatio; quibus viribus inspiret, qua jucunditate permisceat, quanta in maledictis asperitas, in jocis urbanitas, ut denique dominetur in affectibus, atque in pectora irrumpat, animumque judicum similem illis quae dicit efficiat. Tum in ratione eloquendi, quod verbum proprium, ornatum, sublime: ubi amplificatio laudanda, quae virtus et contraria: quid speciose translatum: quae figura verborum: quae lenis et quadrata, virilis tamen compositio. Quint. l. 2.*

“the air of sincerity, the design which may sometimes be concealed, and the artifice of a narration; for the secret of this art is scarce known, except to such as profess it; afterwards he shows the order and exactness of the division; how the orator finds out by the force of genius, a great number of methods and arguments, which he crouds upon each other; now he is more vehement and sublime; then soft and insinuating; with what force and violence he animates his invectives; what wit and beauty appear in his raillery; in fine, how he moves the passions, wins the hearts of his hearers, and actuates them as he thinks fit: from hence proceeding to elocution, he makes them observe the propriety, the elegance and nobleness of expressions; on what occasion amplification is laudable, and what its opposite virtue is: the beauty of the metaphors, and other figures; what a flowing and harmonious, and, at the same time, a manly and nervous style is.”

This passage of Quintilian may be considered as an excellent epitome of the precepts of rhetoric, and of the duties of masters in explaining authors. What I shall say hereafter will serve only to illustrate and set it in a clearer light.

I shall begin with giving an idea of the three kinds or characters of eloquence, and here settle some general rules of rhetoric which appear to me best adapted to form the taste; and this is properly the end I propose in this work. I shall afterwards proceed to the chief observations which, I think, should be made in reading authors; and conclude this treatise with some reflections on the eloquence of the bar, the pulpit, and that of the holy scripture.

But I must first premise, that authors should not be read superficially, or in a hurry, if we propose to improve by them. § We should often review the same passages,

§ Optimus quisque legendus est, sed diligenter, ac pene ad scribendi sollicitudinem. . . . Repetamus autem, et tractemus: et

passages, especially the most beautiful; read them again with attention, compare them with one another, by thoroughly examining their sense and beauties: and make them so familiar to us, as to have them almost by heart. The surest way of improving by this study of authors, which is to be considered as the food of the understanding, is to digest it at leisure, and thereby convert it, as it were, into one's substance.

To obtain that end, ^h we must not value ourselves upon reading a great number of authors, but such only as are of most value. We may say of too great reading, what Seneca observes of a prodigious library, that instead of enriching and forming the mind, it often only disorders and confounds it. It is much better to fix upon a small number of choice authors, and to study these thoroughly, than to amuse ourselves superficially, and hurry over a multitude of books.

SECTION. I.

Of three different kinds or characters of eloquence.

^k As there are three principal qualifications requisite in an orator, to instruct, to please, and move the passions; so there are three kinds of eloquence, which produce those effects, generally called the plain or simple, the sublime and the mix'd.

^l The first is more particularly adapted to narration

ut cibos manfos ac prope liquefactos dimittimus, quo facilius digerantur; ita lectio non cruda, sed multa iteratione mollita, et velut confecta, memoriae imitationique tradatur. Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1.

^h Tu memineris sui cujusque generis auctores diligenter eligere. Aiunt enim multum legendum esse, non multa. Plin. Epist. 9. l. 7.

ⁱ Quo mihi innumerabiles libros et bibliothecas? . . . Onera discitem turba, non instruit: multoque satius est paucis auctoris tradere, quam errare per multos. Sen. de Tranq. an. c. 9.

^k Erit eloquens is qui ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. Probare, necessitatis est; delectare, suavitatis; flectere, gloriae . . . sed quot officia oratoris, tot sunt genera dicendi subtile, in probando; modicum, in delectando; vehemens, in flectendo. Orat. n. 69.

^l Illo subtili praecipue ratio narrandi probandique consistit. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

and proof. Its principal character consists in perspicuity, simplicity and exactness. It is not an enemy to ornament, but then it admits of none except such as are plain and simple, rejecting those which argue affectation and varnish. 'Tis not a lively shining beauty that enhances its merit, but a soft, a modest grace, sometimes attended with an air of negligence, which still exalts its value. Simplicity of thought, purity of diction, with an inexpressible elegance, which affects more sensibly than it seems to do, are its sole ornaments. We do not find in it any of those elaborate figures which too plainly discover art; and seem to proclaim the orator's endeavour to please. In a word, the same observation may be made on this species of writing, as on those simple, but elegant entertainments, where all the dithes are of an exquisite taste, but nothing admitted that is either too much forced, or too excessive in sauces, seasoning and preparation.

^m There is another species of writing quite different from the former; great, rich, grave and noble; 'tis called

Ut mulieres esse dicuntur nonnullae inornatae, quas idipsum deceat, sic haec subtilis oratio etiam incompta delectat. Fit enim quiddam in utroque, quo sit venustius, sed non ut appareat. Tum removebitur omnis insignis ornatus, quasi margaritarum: nec calamistrum quidem adhibebuntur. Fucati vero medicamenta candoris et ruboris omnia repellentur: elegantia modo et munditia remanebit. Sermo purus et latinus: dilucide pleneque dicetur. Orat. n. 78, 79.

Verecundus erit usus oratoriae quasi suppellectilis. n. 80.

Figuras adhibet quidem haec subtilis, sed paulo parcus. Nam sic, ut in epularum apparatu a magnificentia recedens, non se parcum solum, sed etiam elegantem videri volet; eliget quibus utatur. . . . Aberunt quaesitae venustates, ne elaborata concinnitas, et quoddam aucupium delectationis manifeste deprehensum appareat. Ib. n. 84.

ⁿ Tertius est ille amplus, copiosus, gravis, ornatus: in quo profecto vis maxima est. Hic est enim, cujus ornatum dicendi et copiam admiratae gentes eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passae sunt, sed hanc eloquentiam quae cursu magno sonituque ferretur, quam suscipere omnes, quam admirarentur, quam se assequi posse diffiderent. Hujus eloquentiae est tractare animos; hujus omni modo permovere. Orat. n. 97.

^o Nam et grandiloqui, ut ita dicam, fuerunt, cum ampla et sententiarum gravitate, et majestate verborum; vehementes, va-

called the grand, the sublime; it employs whatever in eloquence is most elevated, has the greatest force, and is most capable of moving the affections; such as noble thoughts, rich expressions, bold figures, and lively passions. It is this sort of eloquence that governed all things in old Athens and Rome, and determined absolutely in the public councils and measures. It is this that transports and seizes admiration and applause. It is this that thunders and lightens, and ⁿ like a rapid stream, carries away and bears down all before it.

In fine, there is a third ^o species of eloquence which seems to be placed, as it were, between the other two; having neither the plainness and simplicity of the first, nor the force and energy of the second; it comes near them, but without resembling them; and participates, or to speak more properly, is equally distant from both. It has more force and copiousness than the first, but is less sublime than the second; it admits of all the embellishments of art, the beauty of figures, the splendor of metaphors, the lustre of thoughts, the grace of digressions, and the harmony of numbers and cadence. It nevertheless flows gently, like a beautiful river, whose water is clear and pure, and is overshadowed on each side with verdant forests.

ARTICLE

rii, copiosi, graves, ad permovendos et convertendos animos instructi et parati. Orat. n. 20.

^a At ille qui saxa devolvat, et pontem indignetur, et ripas sibi faciat, multus et torrens, judicem vel nitentem contra feret, coequetque ire qua rapit. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

^a Est quidam interjectus intermedius, et quasi temperatus, nec acumine posteriorum, nec fulmine utens superiorum; vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens; utriusque particeps, vel utriusque, si verum quaerimus, potius expers. Ique uno tenore, ut aiunt, in dicendo fluit, nihil afferens praeter facilitatem et aequalitatem. Orat. n. 21.

Uberius est aliquantoque robustius quam hoc humile, summissus autem quam illud amplissimum. . . . Huic omnia dicendi ornamenta conveniunt, plurimumque est in hac orationis forma suavitatis. Ibid. n. 92.

Medius hic modus et translationibus crebrior, et figuris erit jucundior; egressionibus amoenus, compositione aptus, sententis dulcis; lenior tamen, ut amnis lucidus quidam, et virentibus utrinque sylvis inumbratus. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the simple kind.

I. **O**F these three kinds of writing, the p first, which is the simple, is not the easiest, though it seems to be so. As its stile is very natural, and does not deviate much from common discourse, we imagine no great ability or genius are required to succeed in it; and when we read or hear a discourse in this kind, those who have the least notion of eloquence think themselves capable of imitating it. They think so indeed, but are mistaken; and to convince them, let them only make a trial of it; for after much pains, they will be obliged to own they could not attain it. Those who have any taste of true eloquence, and are the best killed in it, own there is nothing so difficult as to speak with weight and propriety, and at the same time in so plain and natural a manner, that every man flatters himself he could do as much.

II. Cicero, in his first book *de oratore*, observes, that what excels most in other arts, is furthest from the understanding and capacity of the common people; and, on the contrary, that it is a great fault in eloquence, to vary from the common way of speaking. He does not however pretend to insinuate by this, that

* Summissus est et humilis, consuetudinem imitans, ab indifferens re plus quam opinione differens. Itaque eum qui audiunt, quamvis ipsi infantes sint, tamen illo modo confidunt se posse dicere. Nam orationis subtilitas, imitabilis quidem illa videtur esse existimanti, sed nihil est experienti minus. Orat. n. 76.

* Ut sibi quisvis speret idem, sudet multum, frustra quoque laboret ausus idem. Horat.

* Rem indicare sermonis quotidiani, et in quemcunque etiam indoctorum cadentis esse existimant: cum interim, quod tanquam facile contemnunt, nescias praestare minus velint, an possint. Neque enim aliud in eloquentia cuncta experti difficilior reperient, quam id quod se dicturos fuisse omnes putant; postquam audierunt. Quintil. l. 4. c. 2.

* In caeteris artibus id maxime excellit, quod longissime sit ab imperitorum intelligentia sensuque disjunctum: in dicendo autem vitium vel maximum est, a vulgari genere orationis atque a consuetudine communis sensus abhorreere. Lib. 1. de Orat. c. 12.

that the style of the orator must be like that of the populace, or the language of common conversation; but what he requires, is, that the orator should carefully avoid the expressions, the turns and thoughts which might render an oration obscure and unintelligible, by too affected an elegance, or too much sublimity. Since he has no other view but to be understood, it is certain that the greatest error he can fall into, is to speak unintelligibly. What therefore distinguishes his stile, from that of conversation, is not, properly speaking, the difference of words or terms; for they are very near the same on both sides, and derived from the same source, both for common speech, and the most pompous oration; but the orator knows how by his use and disposition of them, to raise them, as it were, above every thing common, and give them a peculiar grace and elegance, which at the same time is so natural, that every one would think he could speak in the same manner.

III. Quintilian makes a very judicious remark on the topic before us, in explaining a seeming contradiction between two passages in Cicero. "Tully", says he, has somewhere writ, that perfection consists in saying such things as we imagine every one might easily say; in attempting which however more difficulty is found than was expected. And he says in another place, that he did not study to speak, as every one imagined he could do, but as none could

conceive

* Non sunt alia sermonis, alia contentionis verba; neque ex alio genere ad usum quotidianum, alio ad scenam pompae que sumuntur: sed ea nos cum jacentia sustulimus e medio, sicut ut molliissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus et fingimus. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 177.

"Cicero quodam loco scribit id esse optimum, quod cum facile er-dideris consequi imitatione, non possis. Alio vero, ut se id egisse, ut ita diceret quomodo se quilibet posse confideret, sed quomodo nemo. Quod potest pugnare inter se videri. Verum utrumque, ac merito, laudatur. Causa enim modica distat: quia simplicitas illa, velut securitas in affectae orationis, mire tenues causas decet; majoribus illud admirabile dicendi genus magis convenit. In utroque eminet Cicero: ex quibus alterum imperiti se posse consequi credent, neutrum intelligunt. Quintil. 11. c. 1.

“conceive possible; in which he seems to contradict himself. But both these are very just; for the only difference is in the subject treated. And indeed, this simplicity, and negligent air of a natural style, where nothing is affected, is extremely well adapted to small causes or affairs; as the martial style is to grand and important ones. Cicero excels in both; of which one, in the opinion of the ignorant, is easily attained, but neither of them is so, in the judgment of the learned.” We see by this, that the plain style is to be used, when we speak of simple and common things, and that it is particularly adapted to narratives or relations; and to those parts of a discourse wherein the orator’s only view is to instruct his auditors, or to insinuate himself gradually into their affections.

IV. ^u From thence proceeded the care of the ancients to conceal art, which indeed ceases to be so when perceived; widely different from the ostentation and parade of those writers whose aim is to display their wit ^{*}. From thence resulted a certain kind of negligence, no way offensive or disagreeable, because it intimates that the orator is more intent upon things than words. ^y In a word, thence resulted that air of modesty and reserve, which the ancients generally took care to discover in the exordium and narration, in their style, expression, thoughts, and even in the tone of their voice and their action. The orator has not yet attained the favourable opinion of his

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E

hearers.

^u Inde illa veterum circa occultandum eloquentiam simulatio, multum ab hac temporum nostrorum jactatione diversa. Quint.

l. 4. c. 1.

^{*} Habet iste stilus quiddam quod indicet non ingrati negligentiam, de re hominis magis quam de verbis laborantis. Orat. n. 77.

^y Frequentissime procemium decebit, et sententiarum, et compositionis, et vultus modestia. . . . Diligenter, ne suspecti sumus in ulla parte, vitandum: propter quod minime ostentari debet in principis cura, quia videtur ars omnis dicentis contra judicem adhiberi. . . . Nondum recepti sumus, et custodit nos recens audientium avertio. Magis conciliatis animis; et jam calenti-
us; haec libertas feretur. Quintil. l. 4. c. 1.

hearers. We examine him carefully. Every thing then that favours of art is suspected by the auditors, and creates a diffidence, by making them apprehensive, that there is a design to ensnare them. They are afterwards less upon their guard, and give more liberty.

^z Cicero observes, that Demosthenes followed this rule in his beautiful oration for Ctesiphon, where he speaks at first with a soft and modest tone, and does not proceed to the quick and vehement stile which is afterwards predominant, till he had insinuated himself by degrees into the opinion of the auditors, and made himself master of them: he would have us, for that reason, be a little timorous in the beginning, and ^a extols this character of modesty and reservedness in Crassus, which, far from being injurious to his discourse, made the orator himself more amiable and estimable by the advantageous idea it gave of his person.

Homer and Virgil, whose poetry is so noble and sublime, begin their poems in the most plain and simple manner; far unlike that line, which Horace justly censures in a contemporary bard.

Fortunam Priami cantabo, et nobile bellum.

The glorious war, and Priam's fate I'll sing.

^b It is indeed ridiculous to cry out with so loud a voice, and promise such mighty things in the very first verse. The exordium ought generally to be plain and unaffected. ^c This fire, this sudden splendor, often turns into smoke; whereas a stile at first more simple and less glittering gives extreme pleasure, when followed by exalted brightness.

^a Demosthenes in illa pro Ctesiphonte, oratione longe optima summissius à principio; deinde, cum de legibus disputat, pressius; post sensim incedens, judices ut vidit ardentes, in reliquis exultavit audacius. Orat. n. 26.

Principia verecunda, non elatis intensa verbis. Ibid. n. 124.

^b Fuit mirificus quidam in Crasso pudor, qui tamen non modo non obesset ejus orationi, sed etiam probitatis commendatione prodesset. 1 de Orat. n. 122.

^c Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu? Hor. de art. poet.

^d Non sumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem cogitat. Id.

This rule, that the exordium must be simple and modest, is not general, either for prose or poetry. There are some harangues, whose subjects allow, and even require the orator to begin in a noble and grand manner; and the most sublime exordium suits the ode perfectly, though it might be very shocking in other poems. M. de la Mothe assigns a very good reason for this difference with regard to poetry in the preface to his odes. "The reason is, says he, that an epic poem being a work of great length, it would be dangerous to begin in such a strain as it would be difficult to support or continue; whereas the ode being comprehended within narrow limits, we can run no risque, though we warm the reader in the beginning; for he will have no time to cool by the length of the piece. In like manner, a man who is to run a long race, should be very sparing of himself at first, lest he should waste his strength too soon; and, on the contrary, he who had not far to go, might increase his natural swiftness by his first effort, and thereby finish his course with the more rapidity."

V. Youth cannot be made too sensible of the character of simplicity which runs through the writings of the ancients. We must accustom them to study nature in all things; and often repeat to them, that the best eloquence is that which is the most natural, and least far fetched. That whereof we are now treating consists in a certain simplicity, and an elegance which is extremely pleasing, for no other reason, but its not studying to please. The Grecians gave it a very expressive and significant name, ἀφελεια, ἀφελις, intimates a plain kind of life, frugal, modest and decent; devoid of luxury or pomp; that is, in want of nothing, and, at the same time, has nothing superfluous; and is pretty near what Horace calls *simplex munditiis*, an elegant simplicity.

E 2

VI. The

^a Ipsa illa ἀφελεια simplex et inaffectedata habet quendam purum, qualis etiam in fœminis amatur, ornatum. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

VI. The relation of Canius's adventure is of this kind; it is in the third book of Tully's Offices; the whole of which I shall here repeat with the translation.

^e *C. Canius, eques Romanus, nec infacetus, et satis literatus, cum se Syracusas, otiandi, ut ipse dicere solebat, non negotiandi causa, contulisset; dictitabat se hortulos aliquos velle emere, quo invitare amicos, et ubi se oblectare sine interpellatoribus posset.* How elegant are these words, *nec infacetus, et satis literatus*! The French version of Mr. du Bois gives the sense very well, but it is not so concise nor lively. There is a beauty in this kind of play of words, *otiandi, negotiandi*, and in the diminutives, *dictitabat, hortulos*, which can never be translated into another language.

^f *Quod cum percrebuisse, Pythius ei quidam, qui argentariam faceret Syracusiis, dixit venales quidem se hortos non habere, sed licere uti Canio, si vellet, ut suis et simul ad cœnam hominem in hortos invitavit in persequentem diem. Cum ille promississet, tum Pythius, qui esset, ut argentarius, apud omnes ordines graciosus, piscatores ad se convocavit, et ab his petivit, ut ante suos hortulos postridie piscarentur, dixitque quid eos facere vellet.* The whole beauty of this paragraph consists in these few words: *Pythius, qui esset, ut argentarius apud omnes ordines graciosus*. It is not so well expressed in the French, which does not sufficiently show that his money gave him great credit among all ranks of people. The words, *hominem invitavit*, are much more elegant.

^e When C. Canius, a Roman knight, a facetious and sensible man, and of some learning, went to Syracuse, not about business, but to do nothing, as he used to say; he gave notice that he would be glad to purchase a country-house near the city, where he might divert himself sometimes with his friends without the importunity of visitors.

^f The report of this spreading over all the city, a certain banker at Syracuse, called Pythius, told him, he had indeed a country-house, but not to sell; that Canius might make use of it as his own, and intreated him to dine with him at it next day. Canius promising he would, the banker, whose occupation made him acceptable to all sorts of people, sent for some fishermen and desired them to fish before his house the day following, giving them some other directions proper for his design.

elegant, than if the word *illum* had been substituted in their place.

§ *Ad cœnam tempore venit Canius. Opipare à Pythio apparatus convivium. Cymbarum ante oculos multitudo. Pro se quisque quod ceperat, afferebat : ante pedes Pythii pisces abjiciebantur.* The concise stile, in which the verbs are suppressed, is very graceful. We should make our youth observe, that this is a beauty which can be seldom expressed in our language. There is, in my opinion, in the words, *ante pedes Pythii pisces abjiciebantur*, a fine image of people who were in a hurry to throw down a great quantity of fish, at Pythius's feet. I know not the translator's reason for substituting another thought instead of it, which is not in the Latin.

h *Tum Canius : quasô, inquit, quid est hoc, Pythi ? Tantumne piscium, tantumne cymbarum ? Et ille : Quid mirum, inquit ? Hoc loco est, Syracusis quidquid est piscium : hic aquatio : hac villa isti carere non possunt.*

i *Incensus Canius cupiditate, contendit à Pythio, ut venderet. Gravate ille primo. Quid multa ? Imperat : emit homo cupidus et locuples tanti, quanti Pythius voluit, et emit instructos : nomina facit : negotium contrahit.* Nothing can be finer than this. But these two words, *homo cupidus et locuples* are uncommonly elegant. They include the two motives which determined Canius to buy this little house at so high a

E. 3. price ;

• Canius came at the time appointed. He found a magnificent entertainment, and the sea covered with fishermens boats, who one after another brought Pythius a great quantity of fish, as if they had just taken them in his presence.

h Canius being very much surpris'd at the sight ; What, says he to Pythius, is there such a quantity of fish, and such a number of fishing-boats here every day ! Every day, answered Pythius. This is the only place about Syracuse where there is any fish, and where fishermen can even get water ; and all these people cannot subsist in any other place.

i Behold Can us enamoured with the house ; he presses Pythius to sell it him : Pythius seems very unwilling ; is mightily courted ; but consents at last. Canius, being a man of wealth and pleasure, buys the house, giving Pythius whatever he asked for it, together with the furniture. The contract is signed ; and the affair ended.

price ; which is, that he had a great inclination to possess it, and was very rich. The translator has not taken the true sense of the first word, *Canius*, a man of wealth and pleasure ; which does not express *homo cupidus*.

* *Invitat Canius postridie familiares suos : venit ipse mature. Scalmum nullum videt. Quarit ex proximo vicino, num feriæ quadam piscatorum essent, quod eos nullos viderit. Nullæ, quod sciam, inquit ille : sed hic piscari nulli solent. Itaque heri mirabar quid accidisset. Stomachari Canius. Sed quid faceret ? Nondum enim Aquilius, collega et familiaris meus, protulerat de dolo malo formulas : in quibus ipsis, cum ex eo quæreretur quid esset dolus malus, respondebat, cum esset aliud simulatum, aliud actum.*

Though we should suppress certain turns, a certain number of ideas and expressions in this narrative, still the foundation will be the same, and none of the necessary circumstances will be omitted ¹, but then it will be divested of all its beauty and delicacy, that is, of every thing that adorns narration.

VII. m. I cannot forbear relating in this place, a story which Pliny the naturalist has left us, where we may see, in a single word, the meaning and energy of that plain and natural embellishment of which we are now speaking. A slave who had got out of the state of captivity, having purchased a small field, cultivated it with so much care, that it became the most fertile

* Canius intreats his friends to come to see him the day following at his new habitation. He repairs thither himself very early in the morning, but sees neither fishermen nor fishing-boats. He asks a neighbour whether the fishermen were making holiday, seeing none of them there. Not that I know of, replies the neighbour ; for there never is any fishing in this place, and I was yesterday surprised to see so many fishing-boats. Upon this, Canius began to fall into a great rage. But what could he do ? . . . For my colleague and friend Aquilius had not yet established the laws against deceit and treachery : What is called deceit then, says the same Aquilius, is when we give a man room to expect one thing, and do another.

¹ Caret caeteris lenociniis expositio ; et nisi commendetur hac venustate, jaceat necesse est. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

² Plin. l. 18. c. 6.

in the whole country; which drew on him the jealousy of all his neighbours, who charged him with employing magic and charms, to make his own field so surprisngly fruitful, and theirs barren. Upon this, he was cited to appear before the people of Rome. He appeared accordingly on the day appointed for his trial. Every body knows that the assembly of the people was held in the *Forum*, which was the public place of justice. ⁿ He brought his daughter with him, who, says the historian from whom this is borrowed, was a sturdy country wench, very laborious, well fed and clothed. He had brought all his rustic instruments, which were in a very good condition; some very heavy mattocks, a strong plough, and his oxen, which were large and fat. Then, turning to the judges, these, says he, are my charms, and the magic I use in cultivating my land. I cannot, says he, set before you my toil, my watchings and my labour by day and night. . . . He was unanimously acquitted.

There is no person but must be sensibly touched upon the bare reading of this, with the beauty of that answer; *These, O Romans, are my charms!* But in what then does that beauty consist? Is there any extraordinary thought in those few words; any shining expression, bold metaphor, or sublime figure? There is nothing of all this. 'Tis only the natural and honest simplicity of the answer drawn from nature itself, that pleases and charms. If we substituted the wittiest and most florid phrases that can be conceived, in the room of those few, plain, and homely words, we should deprive the peasant's answer of all its beauty. Thus, according to the same ^o Pliny, Nero, who, from an ill taste, preferred what was brilliant to simplicity, spoiled one of the finest statues of Lysippus, by ordering it to be gilt, because it was made of brass. But it was afterwards

ⁿ Instrumentum rusticum omne in forum attulit, et adduxit eam validam, atque (ut ait Piso) bene curatam ac vestitam, tramenta egregie facta, graves ligones, vomeres ponderosos, oves saturos.

^o Plin. 34. c. 8.

terwards found necessary to take off the gilding, (it having spoiled all the beauty of the artist) and by that means the statue recovered its former value.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of the SUBLIME.

THE *sublime*, or marvellous, is that which constitutes the grand real eloquence. M. de la Mothe defines it thus, in the discourse prefixed to his odes, *I believe, says he, the sublime is nothing but the true, and the new, united in a grand idea, and expressed with elegance and brevity.* He afterwards assigns the reason of every branch of this definition. The first passage is well worth reading, and contains very judicious reflections. I am, however, in doubt whether the last part of this definition be entirely just; *expressed with elegance and brevity.* Are these two qualities then so essential to the *sublime*, that it cannot subsist without them? I thought elegance so far from being the proper characteristic of the *sublime*, that it was often the reverse of it; and, I own, I discover nothing of it in the two examples cited by M. de la Mothe: one of them is out of Moses; *God said, let there be light, and there was light;* the other from Homer; *Great God, give us but day, and there is light* against us. As to brevity, it is sometimes necessary to the *sublime*, when it consists in a short and lively thought, as in the former examples; but in my opinion it does not constitute its essence. There are a great many passages in Demosthenes and Cicero which are very extensive and much amplified, and yet very sublime, though no brevity appears in them. I use the freedom which M. de la Mothe gives his readers in the place in question, and only point out my doubts.

^p Probably it is not that species of the sublime which is defined in this place.

doubts, submitting them to his better understanding. The excellent treatise of Longinus upon this subject, would alone be sufficient to form the taste of youth. I propose little more in this place than to draw some reflections from it, which may serve as so many rules and principles.

Boileau asserts, that Longinus does not understand by the sublime, what the orator calls the sublime stile, but that *extraordinary*, that *marvellous* which strikes in discourse, and gives a work that force which ravishes and transports. The sublime stile, says he, always requires grand expressions; but the sublime may be formed in a single thought, a single figure, a single turn of words. Without entering upon an examination of this remark, which admits of several difficulties, I think it sufficient to observe, that by the sublime, I here understand, as well that which is more amplified and interwoven with the body of the oration; as that which is more concise and consists in lively and moving strokes; because I find equally in both kinds, a manner of thinking and expression, great and noble, which is the essence of the sublime.

I. The plain stile of which I treated at first, though it be perfect in its kind, and often full of inimitable graces, is proper for instructing, proving, and even for pleasing; but it does not produce any of those great effects, without which Cicero^a looks upon eloquence as trifling. As these plain and natural beauties have nothing of the grand, and as we see the orator always serene and calm, the equality of stile used in that kind of eloquence does not at all warm and raise the soul; whereas the sublime species produces a kind of admiration mix'd with astonishment and surprise, which is quite different from merely to please or persuade. We may say, with regard to persuasion, that, generally speaking, it has no more power over us than what

^a Eloquentiam, quae admirationem non habet, nullam judicio. In Epist. ad Brut.

^b Longin. cap. 1.

what we are willing to admit; but it is not so with the sublime; it gives the discourse a noble kind of vigor, an invincible force, which ravishes the souls of all who hear it. — ^s It transports the auditor by that grand and majestic tone, by those quick and lively emotions, that force and vehemence which prevail in it, and leaves him, as it were, struck down and dazzled with its thunder and lightning.

II. This ^t Quintilian has observed on occasion of a bright and sublime passage in Cicero's defence of Cornelius Balbus, ^u where he introduced a magnificent encomium on Pompey the Great. He was not only interrupted by acclamations, but by extraordinary clapping of hands, which seemed noway suitable to the dignity of the place: but this would not have happened, says our rhetorician, if his sole view had been to inform the judges; and had expressed himself merely in a plain and elegant style. It was, no doubt, the greatness, pomp, and splendor of his eloquence, that forced from his auditory all those cries and clapping of hands, which were not free or voluntary, nor the consequence of reflections, but the sudden effect of a kind of transport and enthusiasm, which, in this manner, superseded their reason, and did not give them time to consider what they did, or where they were.

III. This is properly the difference between the effects of the mediate or embellished kind of eloquence of which we shall presently treat, and the sublime

* The latter moves, agitates, and raises the soul above itself.

^s Chap. 28.

^t Nec fortibus modo, sed etiam fulgentibus armis praeliatus causa est Cicero Cornelii: qui non affectus esset docendo judicem tantum, et utiliter demum ac Latine perspicueque dicendum, ut populus Romanus admirationem suam non acclamatione tantum, sed etiam plausu confiteretur. Sublimitas profecto, et magnificentia, et nitor, et auctoritas, expressit illum fragorem. Non tam insolita laus esset prosecuta dicentem, si usitata et cæteris similis fuisset oratio. Atque ego illos credo, qui aderant, non sensitisse quid facerent, nec sponte judicioque plausisse, sed velut captos, et quo essent in loco ignaros, erupisse in hunc velut affectum. Quintil. l. 8 c. 3.

^u Cicero's oration for Corn. Balbus, n. 9. 16.

* Longin. ch. 5.

self, and instantly makes such an impression on the readers or hearers as is difficult, if not impossible to resist: the remembrance of it continues a long time in our minds, and is not easily obliterated; whereas the common or ordinary stile, though full of beauties and elegances, touches only the surface of the soul, as it were, and leaves it in its natural state of tranquillity. In a word, the one pleases and soothes, the other ravishes and transports. y Thus we don't admire little rivulets, though their waters are clear, transparent, and even useful to us; but we are actually surpris'd, when we view the Danube, the Nile, the Rhine, and above all the Ocean.

IV. The sublime is distinguished into several kinds: it is not always vehement and impetuous. Plato's stile is lofty, though it flows without rapidity or noise. Demosthenes is grand, though close and concise; and Cicero is Cicero, though diffusive and copious. We may compare Demosthenes on account of his vehemency, rapidity, and force, and the violence with which he sweeps and carries away all before him, to a storm, to a thunder. As to Cicero, he devours and consumes, like a great conflagration, whatever comes in his way, with a fire that never goes out, but spreads itself variously in his work, and receives fresh strength, as he goes on. To conclude, says Longinus, the sublime of Demosthenes is undoubtedly much more useful and efficacious in strong exaggerations and violent passions, when we must astonish, as it were, the auditors. On the other hand, copiousness is preferable to it, when we would, if I may use the figure, diffuse an agreeable dew over the minds of the people.

V. The true sublime, ^a says Longinus, consists in a grand, noble, and magnificent way of thinking; and consequently supposes the mind of him who writes speaks, has nothing low or groveling; but, on the contrary, that it is full of great ideas, generous sentiments, and I know not what noble pride, that appears in

in all his actions. This elevation of mind and stile, ought to be the image and effect of greatness of soul. Darius offered Alexander half Asia with his daughter in marriage. *For my part, says Parmenio, if I were Alexander, I would accept these offers: And I, replies Alexander, if I were Parmenio.* Could any man but Alexander have made such an answer?

I shall here give some examples of sublime thoughts, which will much better explain the beauty and characteristics of them, than any precepts.

^b Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra

Orabunt causas melius, &c.

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

That is,

" Let others better mould the running mass
" Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
" And soften into flesh a marble face:
" Plead better at the bar, &c.
" But Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful sway
" To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
" Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way.
" To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free:
" These are imperial arts, and worthy thee!"

DRYDEN

^c Et cuncta terrarum subacta

Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

" I see the world obey;

" All yield and own great Cæsar's sway,
" Beside the stubborn Cato's haughty soul."

CREECH

M. Pelisson speaks thus in his elogium on the King
*Here he abolished duelling Here he knew how to
pardon our faults, to bear with our weaknesses, and to
descend from the highest point of his glory, to the lowest*

^b Æn. lib. 6. v. 847, &c

^c Horat. Od. 1. lib. 2.

of our interests. He is every thing to his people, a general, legislator, judge, master, benefactor, father; that is to say, truly a King.

^d Every thing was God, God himself excepted: and the world which God had made to shew his power, seemed now a temple of idols.

There were about five hundred years to the coming of the Messias. God invested the Majesty of his Son with the power of silencing the prophets during all that time, in order to keep his people in expectation of him who was to be the accomplishment of all their oracles.

Que peuvent contre lui (*contre Dieu*) tous les Rois de la terre?

En vain ils s'uniroient pour lui faire la guerre.
Pour dissiper leur ligue il n'a qu'à se montrer.
Il parle, et dans la poudre il les fait tous rentrer.
Au seul son de sa voix la mer fuit, le ciel tremble,
Il voit comme un néant tout l'univers ensemble.
Et les foibles mortels, vains jouets du trépas,
Sont tous devant ses yeux comme s'ils n'étoient pas.

Thus englished,

"What can all earthly monarchs against God?
"Vainly they join to war against his might.
"If he but shew himself, he breaks their leagues.
"He speaks, and instantly they fall to dust.
"The universe is nothing in his sight.
"The ocean flies, earth trembles at his voice,
"And insect men, pale death's fantastic sport,
"Are all before him, as though they were not.

This other passage in the same poet is no less sublime, though in one verse.

Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte.

Englished,

"Abner, I fear my God, and him alone."

In all these places, the sublime results from the nobleness and greatness of the thoughts; but it must be owned, that what is said of God, obscures all the rest: and, indeed, it is fit that every thing should disappear, and be as nothing before him.

VI. The majesty of the thoughts is generally followed by that of the words, which, in their turn, contribute very much to the sublimity of the thoughts ^f. But we must be very careful not to take for sublime, a seeming greatness, generally founded on lofty expressions, thrown together at a venture; and which, when closely examined, are no more than an empty assemblage of swelling words ^g, rather to be contemned than admired. Indeed, inflation is as vicious in discourse as in the natural body. It has only a false and deceitful outside; but within it is hollow and empty. This fault is not easily avoided; for since we naturally seek after the grand in every thing, and are particularly afraid of being charged with dryness, or want of force in writing, it happens, I know not how, that most people fall into this vice, founded upon this common maxim,

Dans un noble projet on tombe noblement.

“ ’Tis great to fall in great attempts.”

^h It is a difficult task to stop where we ought, as Cicero does, who, according to ⁱ Quintilian, never soars too high; or, as Virgil, who is sober even in his enthusiasm. . . . Those Latin declaimers, whose sentiments are taken notice of by Seneca the father, on occasion of Alexander’s deliberating whether he should carry his conquests beyond the ocean, are extravagant. Some of these say ^k, that Alexander should content himself with conquering where the planet

^f Longin. Chap. 5.

^g Ch. 2.

^h Le P. Bouhours.

ⁱ Non supra modum elatus Tullius. Quintil. 10.

^k Satis sit hactenus vicisse Alexandro, qua mundo lucere satis est.

planet of the day is content to shine ^l; that it is time for Alexander to cease his conquests, where the world ceases to be, and the sun to give its light ^m. Others, that fortune assigned the same limits to his victories, as nature assigned to the world; that Alexander ⁿ is great in comparison of the world, and the world little in comparison of Alexander? ^o that there is nothing beyond Alexander, no more than beyond the Ocean.

What a certain historian says of Pompey, is scarce less extravagant than the passages above cited. *P. Such.* says, he, *was the end of Pompey, after three consulships, and as many triumphs, or rather, after subduing the world; fortune being so inconsistent with herself, with regard to this great man, that the earth, which before did not suffice for his victories, was now wanting to him for a grave.*

The following passage in Malherbe is still more extravagant; he speaks of St. Peter's repentance.

C'est alors que ses cris en tonnerre s'éclatent.
Ses soupirs se font vents qui les chênes combattent :
Et ses pleurs qui tantôt descendoient mollement,
Ressemblent un torrent qui des hautes montagnes
Ravageant et noiant les voisines campagnes,
Veut que tout l'univers ne soit qu'un élément.

Thus englished,

" Then Peter's moan is like the thunder's voice,
" His sighs are winds, and rend the sturdiest oaks.
" His tears which silently stole down his cheek,
" Now are like torrents, which, from highest
" mountains

F 2

" Rushing,

^l Tempus est Alexandrum cum orbe et cum sole desinere.

^m Eundem fortuna victoriae tuae, quem natura, finem facit.

ⁿ Alexander orbi magnus est: Alexandro orbis angustus est.

^o Non magis quicquam ultra Alexandrum novimus, quam ultra oceanum. Suafor 1.

^p Hic post tres consulatus, et totidem triumphos, domitumque errarum orbem, vitae fuit exitus; in tantum in illo viro à se discordante fortuna, ut, cui modò ad victoriam terra defuerat, desisset ad sepulturam. Vell. Patere. lib. 2.

“ Rushing, drown all the country in their course,
 “ As once again to deluge all the globe.

This excellent poet visibly departs from himself in this place, and shews us how easy it is for bombast to usurp the place of the grand and sublime. This piece was, no doubt, writ in Malherbe's youth, and seems unworthy of a place amongst his other poems.

VII. 4 Figures are not the least part of the sublime, and they give the greatest vivacity to a discourse. Demosthenes endeavouring to justify his conduct after the loss of the battle of Cheronea, and to revive the courage of the Athenians, who were cast down and frightened at that defeat, tells them, *No, gentlemen, you have not erred. And this I swear, by the shades of those illustrious men who fell for the same glorious cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Platea.* He might have barely said, that the example of those great men justified their conduct; but by changing the natural air of the proofs, into that grand and pathetic manner of affirming by such new and extraordinary oaths, he raises those ancient citizens above the condition of mere mortals; he inspires his auditors with the spirit and sentiments of those renowned deceased persons; and equals, in some measure, the battle they lost against Philip, with the victories formerly gained at Marathon and Salamis.

5 Cicero imputes the death of Clodius to the just anger of the gods, who at length revenged their temples and altars, which the crimes of that impious wretch had profaned. He does it after a very sublime manner, by appealing to the altars and the gods, and making use of the loftiest figures in rhetoric. 6 *Albanum*

5 Longin. ch. 14.

6 Cicero's oration for Milo, 85.

7 I call to witness, and implore you, holy hills of Alba, which Clodius has profaned! venerable woods, which he has cut down! sacred altars! the band of our union, and ancient

Romans

tumuli atque luci vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor : vosque Albanorum obruta aræ, sacrorum populi Romani sociæ et æquales, quas ille præceps amentia, cæsis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat : vestra tum aræ, vestra religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat. Tuque, ex tuo edito monte, Latialis sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora, finesque, sepe omni nefario stupro et scelere macularat, aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti. Vobis illa, vobis, vestro in conspectu, seræ, sed justæ tamen et debita pœna solutæ sunt.

† M. Flechier describes a death very different from that of Clodius in a very sublime manner, by employing also the most lively figures. *O terrible God, but just in your counsels over the children of men, you dispose both of the victors and victories ! To accomplish your will, and make us fear your judgments, your power overthrows those whom your power had raised. You sacrifice great victims to your sovereign greatness ; and you strike, when you think fit, those illustrious heads which you have so often crowned.* This passage is certainly great, and would perhaps be more so, if it had fewer antitheses.

Do not expect, gentlemen, to see me open a tragical scene in this place, which shall represent this great man stretched out and extended on his own trophies ; that I shall uncover the pale and bloody corse, near which the thunder that struck him still smokes ; that I shall make his blood cry out like Abel's ; and that I am setting

F 3.

ting

Rome itself, upon the ruins of which that abandoned wretch had raised those enormous piles of building . . . your religion violated, your worship abolished, your mysteries polluted, your gods treated outrageously, have at length displayed their power and vengeance. And thou, divine Jupiter Latialis, whose lakes and woods he had so often defiled with so many crimes and impurities, thou hast, at last, from the summit of thy holy hill, looked down upon this wicked wretch, in order to punish him. It is to thee, and before thine eyes : it is to thee that a flow, but just vengeance, has sacrificed this victim, whose blood was thy due.

† M. Turenne's funeral oration.

ting before your eyes the sad images of your weeping religion and country.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of the mediate Kind.

BETWEEN the two species of eloquence, of which we have hitherto treated, *viz.* the simple and the sublime, there is a third, which holds, as it were, the mean, and may be called the embellished and florid kind; because in this eloquence displays her greatest splendor and beauty. It therefore remains for us, to make some reflections on this kind of stile, which may assist youth in discerning between true and solid ornaments, and those that have nothing but false glitter and empty shew. I shall give no examples of this kind, because those I cited before when I treated of composition, and many of those I shall cite hereafter are of the florid kind, and may serve for the present subject.

I. Ornaments in eloquence are certain turns and modes of speech which contribute to make an oration more agreeable, more engaging, and even more persuasive. The orator does not speak only to be understood, for then it would be sufficient to relate things in the most simple manner, provided it was clear and intelligible. His principal view is to convince and to move, in which he cannot succeed, if he does not find out the art of pleasing. He endeavours to reach the understanding and the heart; but he cannot do this, otherwise than by passing through the imagination, which consequently must be addressed in its own language, *viz.* that of figures and images, because nothing can strike or move it but sensible objects. This made ^u Quintilian say, that pleasure is a

^u Multum ad fidem adjuvat audientis voluptas. Quintil. l. 9. c. 14.

Nescio quomodo etiam credit facilius quae audienti jucundae sunt, et voluptate ad fidem ducitur. Lib. 4. cap. 2.

help to persuasion, and that the auditors are always disposed to believe what they find agreeable. It is not enough then, that the discourse be clear and intelligible, or abounding with a great number of reasons, and just thoughts. Eloquence adds to that perspicuity and justness, a certain beauty and lustre, which we call ornament, whereby the orator satisfies both the understanding and the imagination. He gives to the former, truth, justness of thoughts, and proofs; which are, as it were, its natural nourishment; and presents to the latter, beauty, delicacy, the grace of expressions and turns, which belong more peculiarly to it.

II. * Some people are averse to all ornaments of discourse, and think no eloquence natural but that in which the simple stile resembles the language of conversation; these look upon every thing as superfluous that is not absolutely necessary; and think it a dishonour to truth to give her a foreign dress, which they fancy she does not want, and can serve no other end than to disfigure her. If we were to speak before philosophers only, or people free from all passion and prejudice, this notion might perhaps appear reasonable. But it is far otherwise; and if the orator wanted art to win his auditors by the pleasure he gives them, and to lead them with a kind of gentle violence, justice and truth would often be borne down by the industrious arts of wickedness. y This, Rutilius, a man of the greatest justice and virtue at Rome, found to be true in the judgment

* Quidam nullam esse naturalem eloquentiam putant, nisi quae sit quotidiano sermoni simillima,—contenti promere animi voluntatem, nihilque accersiti et elaborati requirentes: quicquid huc sit adjectum, id esse affectationis, et ambitiosae in loquendo jactantiae, remotumque à veritate. Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10.

y Cum esset ille vir (Rutilius) exemplum, ut scitis, innocentiae,—noluit ne ornatiùs quidem aut liberius causam dici suam, quam simplex ratio veritatis ferebat.—Quod si tibi, Crasse, pro P. Rutilio, non philosophorum, more, sed tuo, licuisset dicere; quamvis scelerati illi fuissent, sicuti fuerunt pestiferi cives suppliciiisque digni, tamen omnem eorum importunitatem ex intimis mentibus evellisset vis orationis tuae. Nunc talis vir amissus est, dum causa ita dicitur, ut si in illa commentitia Platonis civitate res ageretur. 1. de Orat. n. 229, 230.

ment given against him; because he would employ no other arms for his defence, but naked truth, as if he had been an inhabitant of Plato's imaginary commonwealth. It would not have been so, says Anthony to Crassus, in one of Cicero's dialogues, had you defended him; not after the manner of the philosophers, but your own; and had the judges been ever so corrupt, your victorious eloquence would have surmounted their wickedness, and preserved so worthy a citizen from their injustice.

III. 'Tis this talent of embellishing a discourse, that distinguishes between a well spoken and an eloquent man. y The former is contented with saying what it is necessary to say upon any subject; but to be truly eloquent, we must express it with all the proper graces and ornaments it will admit. The well-spoken man, that is, he who expresses himself in a clear and solid manner only, leaves his auditors cold and sedate; and does not raise those sentiments of admiration and surprise, which, z in Cicero's opinion, can only be effected by a discourse adorned and enriched with whatever is most shining in eloquence, as well in regard to thoughts as expressions.

IV. There is one kind of eloquence which is wholly adapted to ostentation, having no other end than to please the auditors; such as academical orations, compliments to potentates, some sort of panegyrics, and the like, a where liberty is given to display all the splendor

y M: Antonius ait (l. 1. de Orat. n. 94.) à se disertos viros esse multos, eloquentem autem neminem. Disertis sati putat, dicere quae oporteat; ornate autem dicere, proprium esse eloquentissimi. Quintil. proëm. l. 8.

z In quo igitur homines exhorrescunt? Quem stupefacti dicentem audiunt? . . . qui distincte, qui explicite, qui abundanter, qui illuminate et rebus et verbis dicunt: id est, quod dico ornate. L. 3. de Orat. n. 53.

a Illud genus ostentationi compositum solam petit audientium voluptatem, ideoque omnes dicendi artes aperit, ornatumque orationis exponit. Quare quicquid erit sententiis popolare, verbis nitidum, figuris jucundum, translationibus magnificum, compositione elaboratum, velut insitor quidam eloquentiae, intuentium et pene pertractandum dabit. Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.

splendor and pageantry of art; ingenious thoughts, strong expressions, agreeable turns and figures, bold metaphors; in a word, the orator may not only exhibit whatever is most magnificent and shining in art, but even make a parade and shew of it, in order to satisfy the auditor's expectation; who comes with no other view, but to hear a fine discourse, and whose good opinion we can gain by no other means than by the force of elegance and beauty.

V. ^c It is however necessary, even in this kind, that the ornaments be distributed with a kind of prudence and moderation, and a particular care taken to diversify them abundantly. Cicero insists very much on this, as one of the most considerable rules in eloquence. We must, says he, make choice of an agreeable species of writing, which may please the audience; but so, as not to create or give them any disgust: for this effect is generally produced by those things which strike us at first with a lively sense of pleasure, without our being very well able to give any reason for it. He gives us many examples of this, from painting, music, odours, liquors, meats; and after laying down this maxim, that great pleasures are apt to be succeeded by distaste and loathing, and that the sweetest things become soonest tasteless and

^b In hoc genere, permittitur adhibere plus cultus, omnemque artem, quae latere plerumque in iudiciis debet, non confiteri modo, sed ostentare etiam hominibus in hoc advocatis. Quintil. l. 12. c. 11.

^c Ut conspersa sit quasi verborum sententiarumque floribus, id non debet esse solum acquabiliter per omnem orationem. Genus dicendi est eligendum, quod maxime teneat eos qui audiant, et quod non solum delectet, sed etiam sine satietate delectet. . . . Difficile enim distu est, quatenam causa sit, cur ea quae maxime sensus nostros impellunt voluptate, et specie prima acerrime commoveant, ab iis celerrime fastidio quodam et satietate abalienemur. . . . Omnibus in rebus voluptatibus maximis fastidium finitimum est: quo hoc minus in oratione miremur, in qua vel ex poetis, vel ex oratoribus, possumus judicare, concinnam, distinctam, ornatam, festivam, sine intermissione, sine reprehensione, sine varietate, quamvis claris sit coloribus picta vel poesis vel oratio, non posse in delectatione esse diuturna. Habeat itaque illa in dicendo admiratio et summa laus umbram aliquam et recessum; quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, exaltate atque eminere videatur. 3. de Orat. n. 26, 97, 98, 100, 101.

and insipid; he concludes from thence, that a work, whether in prose or verse, will not please long, if it be too uniform, and always in the same strain, whatever graces or elegance it may boast in other respects. An oration which is everywhere set off and decked out without the least mixture or variety; where every thing strikes and glitters, or rather dazzles, as it were, than creates true admiration; will grow tedious and tire us with too many beauties, and displease at length by pleasing too much. There must be shadows in eloquence, as well as in painting, to soften attention, relieve the mind, and add boldness to the figures; for which reason all must not be light.

VI. If this be true, even in that kind of orations which are only intended for parade and ceremony, how much more exactly must the precept be observed, in those that treat of serious and important affairs; such as the eloquence of the pulpit and the bar? When an affair relates to the estates, repose, and honour of families, and, what is yet much more considerable, to eternal salvation; is the orator allowed to be solicitous about his reputation, or to endeavour to display his wit? ^d Not that we pretend to exclude the graces and beauties of style from these orations; but the ornaments which are allowed to be employed in them, must be very serious, modest, and severe; ^e and arise rather from the matter itself, than from the genius of the orator. I shall have occasion to treat this subject in a more extensive manner hereafter; ^f nor can it be too often repeated, that the ornaments of such discourses must be manly, noble, and chaste. The kind of eloquence proper for these, must be void of all paint and affectation; must shine however, but with health, if we may use the expression, and owe its beauty only to its vigour:

^a Neque hoc eo pertinet, ut in his nullus sit ornatus, sed uti pressior et severior. Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.

^b Omnia potius à causa, quam ab oratore, profecta credantur. Quintil. l. 4. c. 2.

^c Sed hic ornatus (repetam enim) virilis, fortis, et sanctus sit: nec effeminatam levitatem, nec fucò eminentem colorem amet. Sanguine et viribus niteat. Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.

vigour: g for it must be with orations of this kind, as with the human body, which derives its real graces from its good constitution; whereas, paint and artifice only spoil the face, by the very pains taken to beautify it.

VII. ^h A maxim of great importance, which is verified both in the works of nature and those of art, is, that those things which are most useful in themselves have generally most dignity and gracefulness. ⁱ Let us cast our eye a little on the symmetry and order of the different parts of a building, or a ship; those which form the structure of man's body, and that harmony in the universe, which we are never weary of admiring; we shall perceive, that each of those parts, the benefit or necessity of which alone might seem to have given the idea of it, contribute also very much to the beauty of the whole. The same thing may be said of an oration. That which constitutes strength, forms its beauty; ^k and real beauty is never separate from utility.

VIII. This maxim may be very useful in distinguishing real and natural graces from such as are fictitious and foreign; it is only examining if they are useful or necessary to the subject to be treated. ^l There is

* Corpora sana et integri sanguinis, et exercitatione firmata, ex iisdem his speciebus accipiunt, ex quibus vires: namque et colorata, et adstricta, et lacertis expressa sunt. Sed eadem si quis nulla atque fucata muliebriter comat, foedissima sint ipso formae labore. Quintil. proem. l. 8.

* Ut in plerisque rebus incredibiliter hoc natura est ipsa fabricata, sic in oratione, ut ea, quae maximam in se utilitatem continent, eadem haberent plurimum vel dignitatis, vel saepe iam venustatis. De Orat. n. 178.

* Singula hanc habent in specie venustatem, ut non solum satis, sed etiam voluptatis causa inventa esse videantur. . . . Habent non plus utilitatis, quam dignitatis. . . . Capitoli fastigium illud, et caeterarum aedium, non venustas, sed necessitas ipsa fabricata est. N. 180.

* Hoc in omnibus item partibus orationis evenit, ut utilitatem, prope necessitatem, suavitas quaedam ac lepos consequatur. 181.

* Nunquam vera species ab utilitate dividitur. Q. l. 8. c. 3.

* Vitiosum est et corruptum dicendi genus, quod aut verborum licentia resultat, aut puerilibus sententiolis lascivit, aut immodico tumore turgescit, aut inanibus locis bacchatur, aut caeteris si leviter excutiantur flosculis nitet, aut praecipitia pro columinis habet. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

is a flashy stile, which imposes upon us by an empty gingle of words, or is always in search of little childish cold thoughts; is mounted upon stilts, or loses itself in common places void of sense; or shines with some small flowers, which fall as we begin to shake them; or skips, as it were, to the clouds, in order to catch the sublime. But all this is far from true eloquence, it being nothing but tawdry and ridiculous parade; and to make youth sensible of this, they must attend very carefully to that exact severity of good writers, antient or modern, who never depart from their subject, and are never in extremes. ^m For these false graces and false beauties vanish, when solid ones are opposed to them.

IX. I would willingly compare the graces of a florid stile, with respect to the beauties of one more nervous and just, to what Pliny has observed of flowers when he compares them to trees. ⁿ Nature, says he, seems as if she intended to divert, and, as it were, sport in that variety of flowers with which she adorns the fields and gardens; an inconceivable variety, and above all description, because nature is much more capable to paint, than man is to speak. But as she produces flowers for pleasure only, so she often affords them only a day's duration; whereas she gives a great number of years, and sometimes whole ages, to trees, which are intended for man's nourishment, and the necessities of life; in order, no doubt, to intimate to us, that whatever is most splendid soon passes away, and presently loses its vivacity and lustre. It is easy to apply this thought to the beauties

^m Evanescent haec atque emoriuntur comparatione meliorum: ut lana tincta fucis citra purpuram placet. . . . Si vero judicium his corruptis acrius adhibeas, jam illud quod sefellerat, exuat mentitum colorem, et quadam vix enarrabili fœditate pallefcit. Ibid.

ⁿ Inenarrabilis florum varietas: quando nulli potest facilius esse loqui, quam rerum naturae pingere, lascivienti praesertim, et in magno gaudio fertilitatis tam varie ludenti. Quippe reliqua usus alimentique gratia genuit, ideoque secula annosque tribuit iis. Flores vero odoresque in diem gignit: magna (ut palam est) admonitione hominum, quae spectatissime florent, celerrime marcescere. Plin. hist. nat. l. 21. c. 1.

ties of stile, whereof we are now speaking, which we know the orators generally call o flowers.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

General Reflections on the three Kinds of ELOQUENCE.

IT would be of no advantage to examine which of these three kinds is fittest for an orator, since he must possess them all; and that his ability consists in making a proper use of them, according to the different subjects he undertakes to treat; so as to be able to temper the one with the other, sometimes softening strength with beauty, and sometimes exalting beauty with strength. Besides, these three kinds have something common in their diversity of stile, which unites them; that is, a solid and natural taste of beauty, abhorrent of paint and affectation.

But I cannot help observing, that this florid and shining eloquence, which sparkles as it were throughout with wit, is immoderately lavish of its graces and beauties, upon which we generally set so great a value, and often prefer to all others; and which seems to be so agreeable to the taste of our age, though almost unknown to the judicious writers of antiquity, is, nevertheless, of no great use, and is confined within very narrow bounds. This kind of eloquence is, certainly, no way suitable to the pulpit or the bar: neither is it proper for pious or moral subjects, or

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books

• Ut conspersa sit verborum sententiarumque floribus, id non debet esse fustum aequabiliter per omnem orationem. 3. de Orat. n. 96.

• Magni iudicii, summae etiam facultatis esse debet moderator ille, et quasi temperator huius tripartitae varietatis. Nam et iudicabit quid cuique opus sit; et poterit. Quocumque modo postulabit causa, dicere. Orat. n. 70.

• Si habitum etiam orationis et quasi colorem aliquem requiris, est plena quaedam, et tamen teres: et tenuis, et non sine nervis ac viribus, et ea, quae particeps utriusque generis, quaedam mediocritate laudatur. His tribus figuris insidere quidam venustatis non fuso illitus, sed sanguine diffusus debet color. 3. de Orat. n. 119.

books of controversy, learned dissertations, controversies, apologies, nor for almost an infinite number of other works of literature. History, which should be written in a plain and natural stile, would no way agree with one so affected; and it would be still more intolerable in the epistolary way, of which the chief characteristic is simplicity. To what use then, shall we reduce this so much boasted kind of eloquence? I shall leave the reader to examine the places and occasions where it may be reasonably admitted; and to consider whether it ought to engross our application and esteem.

Not that all those writings I have mentioned, are void of ornament, of which Tully is a strong proof; and he alone is sufficient to form us for every species of eloquence. His epistles may give us a just idea of the epistolary stile: Some of these are merely complimentary; others of recommendation, acknowledgment, and praise. Some are gay and facetious, in which he wantons with a great deal of wit; others again grave and serious, when he discusses some important question. In some he treats of public affairs, and these, in my opinion, are not the least beautiful. ^r Those, for example, in which he gives an account of his conduct in the government of his province; first to the senate and people of Rome, and afterwards to Cato in particular, are a perfect model of the clearness, order and conciseness which should be predominant in memoirs and relations; and we must particularly remark the dextrous and insinuating method he employs in those epistles to conciliate the good opinion of Cato; and to make him favourable to him, in the demand he was to make of the honour of a triumph.

^s His celebrated epistle to Lucceius, where he requests him to write the history of his consulship, will ever be justly looked upon as a shining monument of his eloquence, and at the same time of his vanity. I have

^r Epist. 2. & 4. lib. xiv. ad famil.

^s Epist. 12. lib. v. ad famil.

have taken notice, in another place, of his beautiful epistle to his brother Quintus, in which all the graces and refinements of art are comprized. His treatises of rhetoric and philosophy are originals in their kind, and the last shews us how to treat the most subtle and knotty subjects with elegance and decorum. As to his harangues, they comprehend all the species of eloquence, the various sorts of stile, the plain, the embellished, and the sublime.

What shall I say of the Greek authors? Is it not the peculiar character of Homer to excel no less in little than great things; and to unite with a marvellous sublimity, a simplicity equally admirable? Is any stile more delicate and elegant, more harmonious and sublime than Plato's? Was it without reason that Demosthenes held the first rank amongst the crowd of orators at Athens in his time; and has been always considered as almost the standard of eloquence? In a word, not to mention all the ancient historians, can any man of sense be tired with reading Plutarch? Of all those authors, therefore, who were so antiently and generally esteemed, did one of them degenerate into points and witty conceits, shining thoughts, far-fetched figures, and beauties industriously crowded upon each other? And how little, how jejune and childish does this stile, which is almost banished from all serious discourses, appear in comparison of the noble simplicity, the wise greatness which characterise all good works, and are of use in all affairs, times and conditions?

But in order to judge of it in this manner, we need only consult nature. It cannot be denied but those gardens so exactly trimmed and laid out; so enriched with whatever is splendid and magnificent in art; those parterres, which are disposed with such a delicacy of taste; those fountains, cascades, and little groves, are very pleasing and agreeable. But will any compare all this with the magnificent prospect which a

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fine.

* Quorum longe princeps Demosthenes, ac pene ~~lex~~ orandi fuit. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

fine country presents us with, where we scarce know what to admire most; whether the gentle current of a river that rolls its waters with majesty; or those large and agreeable meadows which the numerous herds continually grazing in them, almost animate; or the natural turf which seems to invite repose, * its lively verdure unprofaned by needless works of art; or those rich hillocks, so marvellously variegated with houses, trees, vineyards, and still more, by its cultivated native graces; or those high mountains, which seem to be lost in the clouds; or, in a word, those vast forests, whose trees, almost as ancient as the world, owe their beauty solely to him who created them? Such is the most florid stile, in comparison of the grand and sublime eloquence.

The celebrated Atticus, so well known by the epistles which Cicero wrote to him, walking with him in a very agreeable island near one of the country-houses, in which that orator y delighted most, being the place of his nativity; says to him, as he was admiring the beauty of the country: What is the magnificence of the most stately house; halls paved with marble, gilded roofs, vast canals, which raise the admiration of others? How little and contemptible do all these appear, when we compare them with that

¹⁰ Terra vestita floribus, herbis, arboribus, frugibus. Quorum omnium incredibilis multitudo insatiabili varietate distinguitur. Adde huc fontium gelidas perennitates, liquores perlucidos amnium, riparum vestitus viridissimos, speluncarum concavas altitudines, saxorum asperitates, impendentium montium altitudines, immensitatesque camporum. Lib. 2. de nat. deor. n. 98.

² Viridi si margine clauderet undas herba, nec ingenium violarent marmora tophum. Juven. l. 1. sat. 3.

³ Hoc ipso in loco . . . scito me esse natum. Quare id est nescio quid, et latet in animo ac sensu meo, quo me plus hic locus fortasse delectet. 2. de leg. n. 3.

Equidem, qui nunc primum huc venerim, satiari non queo: magnificasque villas, et pavimenta marmorea, et laqueata tecta contemno. Ductus vero aquarum, quos isti tubos et euripos vocant, quis non, cum haec videat, irriderit. Itaque, ut tu paulo ante de lege et jure differens, ad naturam refererebas omnia, sic in his ipsis rebus, quae ad quietem animi delectationemque quaeruntur, natura dominatur. Ibid. n. 2.

that island, that rivulet, and those delightful rural scenes before our eyes? And he observes judiciously, that this opinion is noways the effect of a whimsical prepossession, but founded in nature itself.

We must say the same of works of wit; and cannot repeat it too often to youth, to put them upon their guard against a vicious taste of brilliant thoughts; witty and far-fetched turns, which seem to aim at superiority, and have always foretold the approaching fall of eloquence. Quintilian had reason to say, that if he were obliged to choose, either the simplicity of the antients whilst gross, or the extravagant licentiousness of the moderns, he would, without hesitation, prefer the former.

I shall conclude this article with some extracts from a discourse, which, in my opinion, may be proposed as a complete model of this noble and sublime, and, at the same time, natural and unaffected eloquence, of which I shall endeavour to point out the characteristics here. This oration was spoke by M. Racine in the French academy, upon the admission of two members, one of whom was Thomas Corneille his brother. M. Racine, after drawing a comparison between the last Corneille and *Æschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, whom renowned Athens had honoured as much as it had *Themistocles*, *Pericles*, and *Alcibiades*, who were contemporaries with those poets, proceeds thus:

“ Yes, Sir, let ignorance despise eloquence and poetry as much as it pleases, and treat great writers as persons unprofitable to the state; we will not be afraid of saying this in favour of learning, and of this celebrated body of which you are now a member; from the moment that sublime geniuses, which far surpass the ordinary bounds of human nature, distinguish and immortalize themselves by such master-pieces as those of your brother; what ever strange inequality fortune may make between them

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“ them

Si necesse sit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quam istam novam licentiam. Quintil. l. 8. c. 5.

“ them and the greatest heroes, while they are li-
 “ ving; yet after their deaths, that difference cea-
 “ ses. Posterity, who are pleased and instructed
 “ by the works they have left behind them, makes
 “ no difficulty of putting them upon a level with
 “ whatever is more important amongst men; and
 “ of ranking the excellent poet with the greatest
 “ captain. The same age that is now so highly
 “ magnified for bringing forth Augustus, boasts
 “ no less of producing Horace and Virgil. In like
 “ manner, when posterity will speak with astonish-
 “ ment of the surprising victories, and all the great
 “ things which will render ours the admiration of
 “ all future ages; Corneille, (let us not doubt of it)
 “ Corneille will have a place among all those won-
 “ ders. France will remember with pleasure, that
 “ the greatest of her poets flourished in the reign
 “ of the greatest of her kings. They will likewise
 “ think it some addition to the glory of our august
 “ monarch, when they shall be told, he esteemed
 “ and honoured that excellent genius with his fa-
 “ vour and munificence; that even two days before
 “ his death, and when he was just at his last gasp,
 “ he sent him fresh proofs of his liberality; and
 “ that the last words of Corneille were acknowledg-
 “ ments to *Lewis the Great*.”

M. de Bergeret, cabinet-secretary, having been
 received a member of the French academy the same
 day with M. Corneille, M. Racine pronounced a
 magnificent elogium on Lewis XIV. part of which
 I shall insert in this place.

“ Who could have said in the beginning of the
 “ last year, and even in this season, when we saw so
 “ much animosity break out on all sides; so many
 “ leagues forming; and that spirit of discord and sus-
 “ picion which kindled the war in the four quarters of
 “ Europe; who could have said, that all would be
 “ peaceable and quiet before the end of the spring?
 “ What probability was there of dissolving such a
 “ number of confederacies in so short a time? How

“ was it possible to reconcile so many contrary interests? How calm that crowd of states and potentates, who were much more irritated against our power, than the ill treatment they pretended to have received? Would not one have thought that twenty years of negotiation would not have sufficed for putting an end to all these differences? The diet of Germany, which was to examine only a part of them, were no farther advanced than the preliminaries, after an application of three years. In the mean time, the King had resolved in his cabinet, that for the good of Christendom there should be no war. The night before he was to set out for his army, he writes six lines, and sends them to his ambassador at the Hague. Upon this the provinces enter into deliberation; the ministers of the high allies assemble; every thing is in agitation, every thing in motion. Some will not comply with any thing demanded of them; others demand what has been taken from them; but all are determined not to lay down their arms. The King, in the mean time, causes Luxemburgh to be taken on the one side; and on the other marches in person to the gates of Mons. Here he sends generals to his allies; there he orders the bombardment of Genoa. He forces Algiers to ask pardon. He even applies himself to regulate the civil affairs of his kingdom; relieves the people, and gives them an anticipation of the fruits of peace, and at length finds his enemies, as he had foreseen, after a great many conferences, projects, and useless complaints, reduced to accept the very conditions he had offered them, without being able to retrench or add any thing to them; or, to speak more properly, without being able, with all their efforts, to go one step out of the narrow circle he had thought fit to prescribe them.”

These two passages are certainly beautiful, grand, and sublime. Every thing pleases, every thing strikes, but

but not with affected graces, exact antitheses, or glaring thoughts; nothing of that kind is seen in them. It is the importance and greatness of the things in themselves, and of ideas which transport, that constitute the character of true and perfect eloquence, such as was always admired in Demosthenes. The elogium of the King concludes with a grand thought, which leaves room to imagine infinitely more than it discovers, *without being able to go one step out of the narrow circle he had thought fit to prescribe them.* We imagine ourselves present at the conference, where Popilius, that haughty Roman, having prescribed terms of peace to Antiochus, in the name of the senate; and observing that King endeavoured to elude them, inclosed him in a ^a circle which he made round him with a little stick he had in his hand; and obliged him to give him a positive answer, before he quitted it. This historical passage, which we shall leave the reader the pleasure of applying, has much more grace and ornament, than if we had cited the place from which it was taken.

S E C T. II.

What must chiefly be observed in reading and explaining of Authors.

I will reduce these observations to seven or eight heads, viz. reasoning and the proofs; the thoughts, the choice of words, the manner of placing them; the figures, certain oratorical precautions, and the passions. To these remarks I shall sometimes add examples from the best authors, which will both illustrate the precepts, and teach the art of composing.

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^a Popilius virga quam in manu gerebat, circumscripsit regem, ac: *Præquam hoc circulo excedas, inquit, redde responsum senatui, quod i. feram.* Obstupefactus tam violento imperio; parumper cum hæsitasset; *Faciam, inquit, quod censet senatus.* Liv. lib. 45. n. 12.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the REASONING and PROOFS.

THIS is the most necessary and the most indispensable part of the oratorical art ; being, as it were, the foundation of it, and upon which all the rest may be said to depend. For the expressions, the thoughts, figures, and all the other ornaments we shall speak of hereafter, support the proofs, and are only used to improve and place them in a clearer light. ^a They are to an oration, what the skin and flesh are to the body, which form its beauty and gracefulness, but not its strength and solidity ; they likewise cover and adorn the bones and nerves ; but then they suppose these, and cannot supply their room ^b. I don't deny but we must study to please, and, which is more, to move the passions ; but both will be effected with much more success, when the auditors are instructed and convinced ; which cannot be effected but by the strength of the reasoning and the proofs.

Youth then must be particularly attentive to the proofs and reasons, in examining a discourse, harangue, or any other work ; and must separate them from all outward splendor with which they otherwise might suffer themselves to be dazzled ; let them weigh and consider them ; let them examine if they are solid, fit for the subject, and disposed in their proper places. All the consequence and structure of the discourse must be truly represented to them ; and after it is explained to them, they should be able to give a reason for the author's design, and to declare upon every

^a Caetera, quae continuo orationis tractu magis decurrunt, in auxilium atque ornamentum argumentorum comparantur, nervisque illis, quibus causa continetur, adjiciunt superinducti corporis speciem. Quintil. l. 5. c. 8.

^b Nec abnueri esse aliquid in delectatione, multum vero in commovendis affectibus. Sed haec ipsa plus valent, cum se didicisse judex putat : quod consequi nisi argumentatione, aliaque omni fide rerum non possumus. Ibid.

every passage, that here the author intended to prove such a thing, which he does by such allusions.

^c Amongst the proofs, some are strong and convincing, each of which should be dwelt upon, and pointed out separately, to avoid their being obscured or confounded in the throng of other proofs. Others, on the contrary, are weaker, and must be assembled together, that they may mutually assist one another, and supply the want of strength by their numbers. Quintilian gives us a very remarkable example of this. The question was concerning a man who was accused of killing one of his relations, in order to inherit his estate; and here follow the proofs which were advanced on that occasion: *Hæreditatem sperabas, et magnam hæreditatem; pauper eras, et tum maximè à creditoribus appellabaris; et offenderas eum cujus hæres eras, et mutaturum tabulas sciebas.*

^d These proofs, considered separately, are slight and common; but being joined together, they strike us, not as the thunderbolt that strikes down every thing, but as hail which makes impression when its strokes are redoubled.

We must avoid dwelling too much upon things that don't deserve it; ^e for then our proofs, besides their being tedious, become also suspicious by the very care we take to accumulate too great a number of them, which seems to argue our own diffidence of them.

^f 'Tis a question whether we should place our best proofs in the beginning, in order to possess ourselves of peoples affections at once; or at the end, to leave a stronger impression in the minds of the auditors; or

^g Firmissimis argumentorum singulis instandum, infirmiora congreganda sunt: quia illa per se fortiora non oportet circumstantibus obscurare, ut qualia sunt appareant; hæc imbecilla natura, mutuo auxilio sustententur. Itaque, si non possunt valere quia magna sunt, valebunt quia multa sunt. Quintil. l. 3. cap. 12.

^h Singula levia sunt et communia, universa vero nocent, etiam si non ut fulmine, tamen ut grandine. Ibid.

ⁱ Nec tamen omnibus semper quæ invenerimus argumentis onerandus est iudex: quia et taedium afferant, et fidem detrahunt. Ibid.

^j Quintil. Ibid.

part in the beginning, and another at the end, according to the order which we find in Homer's battles; or in a word, whether it is not best to begin with the weakest proofs, that we may strengthen them continually in the progress of the oration. ^h Cicero seems to be of opinion in some passages, that we must begin and end with the most powerful and convincing proofs, and intersperse the weakest between both: but in his oratorical divisions, he ⁱ acknowledges we cannot always range our proofs as we would; and that a sage and provident orator must, in that respect, consult the inclinations of his auditors, and regulate himself by their taste. Quintilian also observes, but without determining, that the arguments must vary according to the exigency of the matters in question; but so, as the oration must never sink, or conclude with trifling or weak reasons, after we have employed strong ones in the beginning.

The union and harmony to be observed in the proofs, is not an indifferent circumstance; these contribute very much to the perspicuity and ornament of the discourse. They depend upon the justness and delicacy of the transitions, ^k which are a kind of ties, by which the parts and propositions are united, that often seem to have no relation but to be independent and foreign, as it were, to each other; and which, without this union, would clash, and never quadrate together. The orator's art, therefore, consists in knowing, how by certain turns and thoughts, applied with art, to unite these different proofs so naturally, that they may seem designed for each other; and the whole

^g Iliad, l. 4. v. 297.

^h Cic. lib. 2. de orat. n. 314, &c. in orat. 350.

ⁱ Semperne ordinem collocandi, quem volumus, tenere possumus? Non sane. Nam auditorum aures moderantur oratori prudenti et provido, et quod respiciunt immutandum est. In Partition. Orat. n. 15.

^k Ita res diversae distantibus ex locis, quasi invicem ignotae, non collidentur, sed aliqua societate cum prioribus ac sequentibus se copulaque tenebunt.—Ita ut corpus sit, non membra.—Ac videbitur non solum composita oratio, sed etiam continua. Quintil. l. 7. c. ult.

whole not form separate members and detached pieces, but an entire and complete body.

M. Flechier had begun the elogium of M. de Turenne, with that of the ancient and illustrious house of la Tour d'Auvergne, whose blood is mingled with that of Kings and Emperors; has given Princes to Aquitaine, Princesses to all the courts of Europe, and Queens even to France itself.

He speaks afterwards of that Prince's misfortune to be born in heresy. In order to join this part with the former, he uses a figure called by the rhetoricians correction, which supplies him with a very natural transition. "But what do I say? We must not applaud him here on that score; we must rather lament him. How glorious soever the stock might be from which he sprung, the heresy of the latter times has infected it."

There is another observation still more important. It does not suffice to find solid proofs, to range them in proper order, and to unite them well; we must know the method of displaying, and giving them a just extent, in order to make the auditors sensible of their weight and efficacy, and to deduce all possible advantages from them. This is generally called amplification, in which the force of eloquence, and the orator's art, chiefly consist, and wherein Cicero principally excelled. I will confine myself to one example on this head, taken from his defence of Milo.

To the many proofs by which Cicero had shewn that Milo was far from premeditating the design of killing Clodius, he adds a reflection taken from the circumstance of time; and he asks if it is probable that Milo, who was making interest for the consulship, should be so imprudent as to be guilty of a base and cowardly assassination, whereby he would lose the hearts of all the Roman people, and that almost at the time they were to assemble, in order to dispose

¹ Quaedam argumenta ponere satis non est: adjuvanda sunt. Quintil. lib. 5. cap. 12.

of the public employments. *m Praesertim, judices, cum honoris amplissimi contentio et dies comitiorum subesset.* This is a very just reflection; but if the orator had done nothing more than barely represent it, without supporting it with the arts of eloquence, it would not have very much affected the judges. But he improved and set off that circumstance of time in a surprising manner, by demonstrating, that at such a juncture men are extremely circumspect and attentive, in order to conciliate the favour and voices of the people. "I know, says Cicero, how great are the caution and reserve of those who make interest for employments, and what care and uneasiness attend such as sue for the consulship. On these occasions, we are not only afraid of what may be openly objected to us, but of what people may imagine within themselves. The least report, the slightest and worst grounded story alarms and disorders us. We anxiously consult the eyes, the looks, and words of every body; for nothing is so delicate, so frail, uncertain, and variable, as the inclinations of citizens with regard to all those who are candidates for public employments. They are not only offended at the lightest miscarriages, but are sometimes so capricious as to take an unreasonable dislike even to the most laudable actions." *Quo quidem tempore (scio enim quam timida sit ambitio, quantaque et quam sollicita cupiditas consulatus) omnia, non modo quae reprehendi palam, sed etiam quae obscure cogitari possunt, timemus: rumorem, fabulam fictam, falsam perhorrescimus: ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil enim est tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile, quam voluntas erga nos sensusque civium, qui non modo improbitati irascuntur candidatorum, sed etiam in recte factis saepe fastidiunt.* Is it possible to give a more lively idea of the whimsical levity of the people on the one hand; and, on the other, of the continual fears and inquietudes of those who court their

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m For Milo, n. 42, 43.

suffrages? He concludes his argument in a still more lively and moving manner, by asking whether there is the least probability that Milo, whose thoughts had been so long employed entirely on this great day of election, durst appear before so august an assembly as that of the people, with hands still reeking with the blood of Clodius, and his whole countenance haughtily confessing his crime. *Hunc diem igitur campi speratum atque exoptatum sibi proponens Milo, cruentis manibus scelus et facinus præ se ferens et confitens, ad illa augusta centuriarum auspicia veniebat? Quam hoc non credibile in hoc! Quam idem in Clodio non dubitandum, qui se, interfecto Milone, regnaturum putaret!*

It must be confessed, that such passages as these convince, move, and transport the auditors. But we must take care not to carry them too far, and distrust a too lively imagination, which giving too much way to its own fallies, dwells very unseasonably upon things either foreign to the subject, or of little moment; or insists too long even on things that merit some attention. Cicero candidly acknowledges, that he had formerly fallen into this last error. ^a In his defence of Roscius, he makes long reflections upon the punishment of parricides, who were put alive into sacks, and thrown into the sea. ^b The audience were ravished with the beauty of that passage, and interrupted the orator by their plaudits. Indeed it is difficult to meet with any thing brighter. ^c But Cicero, whose taste and judgment had attained perfection by long practice, and whose eloquence, as he himself observes, had acquired a kind of maturity by time;

Cicero,

^a For Rosc. Amer. 70, 71.

^b Quantis illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum! Cic. in Orat. n. 107.

^c Cum ipsa oratio jam nostra caveceret, haberetque suam quandam maturitatem. et quasi senectutem. Brut. n. 8.

Quæ nequaquam satis deferbuisset post aliquando sentire cœpi-mus—sunt enim omnia sicut adolescentis, non tam re et maturitate, quam spe et expectatione laudati. Orat. n. 107. Illa pro Roscio juvenilis redundantia. Ibid. n. 108.

Cicero, I say, acknowledged afterwards, that when this passage was so highly applauded, it was not so much on account of its just or real beauties, as from the expectation of those he seemed to promise in a more advanced age.

It is a very useful exercise to youth, as I before observed, towards making invention easy to them; to propose a subject already treated of by some good author, and to make them find arguments immediately, by interrogating them *viva voce*, and by assisting them with leading or introductory hints.

S. Roscius, whose defence Cicero undertook, was charged with killing his father, and the accuser brought no proof against him. If we ask boys what they can say against the accuser, they will reply, no doubt, that in order to give some air of probability to an accusation of that kind, there must be a great number of proofs, which must likewise be very convincing, and entirely incontestible. We ought to shew the advantage that would redound to the son by the father's death; the irregularities and disorders of his former conduct, to prepare us to believe he might be guilty of so great a crime; and when all this was demonstrated, then in order to bring proofs of so incredible an act, we must remark the place, the time, the witnesses, the accomplices, without which, we cannot believe a son guilty of so black a crime, which supposes a man to be a monster, in whom all natural sentiments are entirely extinct. Care should be taken to tell them previously the story of the two children that were found asleep by their father who had been killed, and were acquitted by the judge, he being persuaded of their innocence, from the tranquillity of mind in which they were found: and youth will not fail to make a proper use of that story in this place. Fabulous history will come in to their assistance, by giving them examples of children, who having imbrued their hands in the blood of their mothers, were abandoned by order of the Gods

to the avenging furies. In fine, the nature of the punishment established by the Romans against parricides, by displaying the enormity of the crime, will also sufficiently shew the necessity an accuser has to bring very evident and certain proofs of it. Youth will, of themselves, find out some of these arguments; and proper interrogations will lead them on to the rest. After this they ought to read the very passage in Cicero, which will teach them the method of treating every proof distinctly.

Cicero's orations, and Livy's speeches furnish us with a great number of such examples. - I have made choice of a very short, but very eloquent speech, out of the latter, which alone will shew youth the method of perusing authors, and how to compose.

Explanation of a speech in Livy.

¶ Let us suppose the speech of Pacuvius to his son Perolla is given to a youth for a theme. Here follows the subject of it. The City of Capua was surrendered to Hannibal, (who immediately made his entry into it) by the intrigues of Pacuvius, notwithstanding all the opposition of Magius, who continued steady to the Romans, and was united with Perolla both in friendship and sentiments. The day upon which Hannibal entered, the city was spent in rejoicing and feasting. Two brothers, who were the most considerable persons in the place, gave Hannibal a grand entertainment. None of the Capuans were admitted to it but Taurea and Pacuvius, and the latter, with great difficulty, obtained the same favour for his son Perolla, whose friendship with Magius was known to Hannibal, who was willing however to pardon him for what was passed, upon the intercession of his father. After the feast was over, Perolla led his father aside, and drawing a poniard from under his gown, told him the design he had formed to kill Hannibal, and to seal the

the treaty made with the Romans with his blood. Upon this Pacuvius was quite out of his senses, and endeavoured to divert his son from so fatal a resolution. A discourse in such circumstances must be very short, and consist of no more than twelve or fifteen lines at most.

The father must begin with endeavouring to find motives within himself to persuade and move his son. There occur three which are natural enough, The first is drawn from the danger to which he exposes himself by attacking Hannibal amidst his guards. The second relates to the father himself, who is resolved to stand between Hannibal and his son, and consequently receive the first wound. The third is brought from the most sacred obligations of religion, the faith of treaties, hospitality, and gratitude. The first step to be taken in the composition, is to find proofs and arguments, which in rhetoric is called *Invention*, and of which it is the first and principal part.

After we have found arguments, we deliberate about the order of ranging them, which requires in so short a discourse as this, that the arguments should grow more powerful as the discourse goes on, and that such as are most efficacious should be applied in the conclusion. Religion, generally speaking, is not that which most affects a young man of a character and disposition like him of whom we now speak; we must therefore begin with it. His own interest, and the danger to which he would expose himself, affect him much more sensibly. That motive must hold the second place. The respect and tenderness for a father, whom he must kill, before he can come at Hannibal, surpass whatever can be imagined; which for that reason must conclude the discourse. This ranging of the arguments is called *disposition* in rhetoric, and is the second part of it.

There remains *elocution*, which furnishes the expressions and turns, and which by the variety and vivacity of the figures contributes most to the beauty and

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There remains *elocution*, which furnishes the expressions and turns, and which by the variety and vivacity of the figures contributes most to the beauty and

strength of discourse. Let us now see how Livy treats each part.

The preamble which holds the place of the exordium, is short, but lively and moving.

^r *Per ego te, fili, quæcunque jura liberos jungunt parentibus, precor quæsoque, ne ante oculos patris facere et pati omnia infanda velis.* This confused disposition, *per ego te*, is very suitable to the concern and trouble of a distracted father: *amens metu*, says Livy. Those words, *quæcunque jura liberos jungunt parentibus*, include whatever is strongest and most tender. That proposition, *ne ante oculos patris facere et pati omnia infanda velis*, which represents the crime and fatal consequence of such a murder, is in a manner the whole speech abridged. He might have said only, *ne occidere Annibalem in conspectu meo velis*. But what a difference is there between the one and the other!

I. MOTIVE, drawn from religion. This is subdivided into three others, which are little more than barely shewn, but in a lively and eloquent manner, without circumstance or word which does not carry its weight. 1. The faith of treaties confirmed by oaths and sacrifices. 2. The sacred and inviolable laws of hospitality. 3. The authority of a father over a son.

^s *Pauca hora sunt, intra quas jurantes quicquid decorum est, dextra dextras jungentes, fidem obstrinximus, ut sacratas fide manus digressi ab colloquio extemplo in eum armaremus?*

^r I pray and conjure you, my son, by all the most sacred laws of nature and blood, not to attempt before your father's eyes an action as criminal in itself, as it will be fatal to you in its consequence.

^s It is but a few minutes since we bound ourselves by the most solemn oaths; that we gave Hannibal the most holy testimonies of an inviolable friendship: And shall we, when we are scarce risen from the entertainment, arm that very hand against him, which we presented to him as a pledge of our fidelity? That table, where the Gods preside who maintain the laws of hospitality, to which you were admitted by a particular favour, of which only two Capuans had a share; leave you that sacred table with no other view but to defile it the next moment with the blood of your inviter? Alas! after I obtained my son's pardon from Hannibal, is it possible that I cannot prevail with my son to pardon Hannibal?

armaremus? Surgis ab hospitali mensa, ad quam tertius Campanorum adhibitus ab Annibale es, ut eam ipsam mensam cruentares hospitis sanguine? Annibalem pater filio meo potui placare: filium Annibali non possum?

II. MOTIVE. [†] Sed sit nihil sancti; non fides, non religio, non pietas: audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere asserunt. This is no more than a transition; but how finely is it embellished! What justness and elegance in the distribution, which resumes in three words the three parts of the first motive! *faith*, for the treaty; *religion*, for the hospitality; *piety*, for the respect which a son owes to a father. *Audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere asserunt.* This is a very beautiful thought, and leads us naturally from the first motive to the second.

[‡] Unus aggressurus es Annibalem? Quid illa turba tot liberorum fervorumque? Quid in unum intenti omnium oculi? Quid tot dextrae? Torpescuntne in amentia illa? Vultum ipsius Annibalis, quem armati exercitus sustinere nequeunt, quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis? What a multitude of thoughts, figures, and images! and this only to declare, that Perolla could not attack Hannibal without exposing himself to inevitable death. How admirable is the opposition between whole armies, which cannot bear the sight of Hannibal, the Roman people themselves who tremble at his looks, and a weak private man! *tu*, (thou.)

III. Mo-

[†] But let us have no regard for those things which are most sacred among men; let us violate at one and the same time, faith, religion, and piety; let us perpetrate the blackest action, provided our destruction be not infallibly annexed to our crime.

[‡] Do you alone pretend to attack Hannibal? But to what end! Do you imagine that the multitude of freemen and slaves who surround him; all those eyes that are constantly fixed upon him, in order to secure him from danger; or that so many hands always ready to defend him, would be blasted and immovable, the moment you make this mad attempt? Will you be able to support only the looks of Hannibal; those formidable looks, which whole armies cannot support, and which make the Romans themselves tremble?

III. MOTIVE. " *Et, alia auxilia desint, me ipsum ferire, corpus meum opponentem pro corpore Annibalis sustinebis? Atqui per meum pectus petendus ille tibi transfigendusque est.*

I admire the simplicity and brevity of this last motive, as much as the vivacity of that which precedes it. A youth would be tempted to add some thoughts in this place, and to expatiate on the passage; Can you imbrue your hands in the blood of your father? Tear life from him from whom you received your own? &c. But so great a master as Livy is well apprised, that it suffices to hint such a motive, and that to amplify would only weaken it.

The PERORATION. * *Deterreri hic sine te potius, quam illic vinci. Valeant preces apud te meae, sicut pro te hodie valuerunt.* Pacuvius had hitherto employed the most lively and moving figures. Every thing is full of spirit and fire; no doubt but his eyes, his countenance and hands, were more eloquent than his tongue. But he is softened on a sudden: he assumes a more sedate tone, and concludes with entreaties, which, from a father, are more powerful than any arguments that can be brought. Accordingly, the son cannot hold out against this last attack. The tears which began to fall down his cheeks, demonstrated his confusion. The kisses of a father who embraced him tenderly a long time, and his repeated and urgent treaties, brought him at last to compliance. *Lacrymantem inde juvenem cernens, medium complectitur, atque osculo harenens, non ante precibus abstitit, quam pervicit ut gladium poneret, fidemque daret nihil facturum tale.*

ARTICLE

" And suppose he were deprived of all other assistance, will you have the boldness to strike me too, when I protect him with my body, and place myself between him and your sword? For I declare that you cannot come at him, without stabbing me.

* Soften your resentments, my son, this very instant; and don't resolve to perish in so ill-concerted an enterprize. Let my entreaties have some influence over you, since they have been so efficacious this day in your favour.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of THOUGHTS.

THOUGHT is a very vague and general word, having many different significations like the Latin word *sententia*. It is evident enough, that the thoughts we are examining in this place are those which are introduced into works of genius, and are one of their chief beauties.

This properly forms the foundation and body of a discourse *y*; for elocution is only its dress and ornament. We must then inculcate this grand principle into young people very early, which is so often repeated by Cicero and Quintilian, *z viz.* that words are made only for things; that they are intended for no other end but to display, or at most to embellish our thoughts; *a* that the choicest and brightest expressions, uninformed with good sense, must be looked upon as empty and contemptible sounds, altogether ridiculous and foolish. That on the contrary, we must esteem solid thoughts and reasons, though unadorned, because truth alone, in whatsoever manner it appears, is always estimable; in fine, *b* that an orator may bestow some care upon words, but must apply his chief attention to things.

We must likewise make youth observe, that the thoughts with which good authors embellish their discourses, are plain, natural, and intelligible; that they are neither affected nor far-fetched, and, as it were, forced

y Quorundam elocutio res ipsas effaeminat, quae illo verborum habitu vestiuntur. Quintil. proem. l. 8.

z Sit cura elocutionis quam maxima, dum sciamus tamen nihil verborum causa esse faciendum, cum verba ipsa rerum gratia sint reperta. Quint. proem. l. 8.

Quibus (verbis) solum a natura sit officium attributum, servire sensibus. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

a Quid est tam furiosum quam verborum vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia. 1. de Orat. n. 51.

b Curam ergo verborum, rerum volo esse sollicitudinem. Quint. proem. l. 8.

forced in, in order to display wit; but that they always rise out of the subject to be treated of, from which they seem so inseparable, that we cannot see how the things could have been otherwise expressed, whilst every one imagines he would express them the same way himself. But these observations will be more obvious by examples.

The combat of the Horatii and the Curiatii.

The description of this combat is, certainly, one of the most beautiful passages in Livy, and the most proper to teach youth how to adorn a narration with natural and ingenious thoughts. In order to know the art and delicacy of this fine passage, we need only reduce it to a simple relation, by divesting it of all its ornaments, without however omitting any essential circumstance. I shall mark the different parts by different figures, in order the better to distinguish, and compare them afterwards, with the narrative itself, as we find it in Livy.

1. *Fœdere iſto trigemini, ſicut convenerat, arma capiunt.*
2. *Statim in medium inter duas acies procedunt.*
3. *Conſederant utrinque pro caſtris duo exercitus, in hoc ſpectaculum totis animis intenti.*
4. *Datur ſignum, inſeſtiſque armis terni juvenes concurrunt.*
5. *Cum aliquandiu inter ſe æquis viribus pugnâſſent; duo Romani, ſuper alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt.*
6. *Illi ſuperſtitem Romanum circumſiſtunt. Forte integer fuit. Ergo, ut ſegregaret pugnam eorum, capeſſit fugam, ita ratus ſecuturos, ut quemque vulnerare affectum corpus ſineret.*
7. *Jam aliquantum ſpatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum eſt, auſugerat, cum reſpiciens videt magnis intervalliſ ſequentes: unum haud procul ab ſeſe abeſſe; in eum magno impetu redit, eumque interficit.*
8. *Mox properat ad ſecundum, eumque pariter neci dat.*

9. *Jam*

9. *Jam equato Marte singuli supererant, numero pares, sed longe viribus diversi.*

10. *Romanus exultans, Duos, inquit, fratrum manibus dedi, tertium causæ belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo. Tum gladium superne illius jugulo defigit : jacentem stoliat.*

11. *Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt.*

12. *Inde ex utraque parte suos sepeliunt.*

The business is to enlarge upon this narration, and to enrich it with thoughts and images which may engage and strike the reader in a lively manner, and represent this action to him in such a light as he may imagine he does not read, but see it, in which the greatest power of eloquence consists. To effect this, we need only consult nature, by carefully studying the motions, and examining attentively what must have passed in the hearts of the Horatii and Curiatii, of the Romans and Albans upon the occasion, and to paint every circumstance in such lively, and at the same time such natural colours, that we imagine we are spectators of the combat. This Livy performs in a surprising manner.

1. *Fœdere iñto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma accipiunt.*

2. *Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, Deos patrios, patriam, ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus; feroces et suo pte ingenio, et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt.*

It was natural for each party to exhort their own champions, and represent to them, that all their country had their eyes upon their combat. This is a fine thought, but it is very much improved by the

1. The treaty being concluded, the three brothers on each side take arms according to agreement.

2. While each party are exhorting their respective champions to do their duty, by representing that their gods, their country, their fathers and mothers, the whole city and army had their eyes fixed on their swords and actions; those generous combatants, brave of themselves, and still more invigorated by pressing exhortations, advance between the two armies.

the manner of turning it: an exhortation more at length would be cold and languid. In reading the last words, we imagine we see those generous combatants advancing between the two armies with a noble, intrepid air of defiance.

† 3. *Confederant utrinque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes: quippe imperium agebatur, in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur.*

Nothing was more suitable here than this thought, *periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes*; and Livy immediately assigns the reason of it. What image do these two words, *erecti suspensique* paint in our minds?

§ 4. *Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acienter juvenes, magnorum exercituum animas gerentes concurrunt. Nec his, nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraeque eo deinde patriae fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpue arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit; neutro inclinata spe, torpebat vox spiritusque.*

Nothing can be added to the noble idea which Livy gives us of these combatants in this place. The three brothers were on each side like whole armies, and had the courage of armies; insensible of their own danger,

† 3. They were ranged on both sides round the field of battle, being more uneasy on account of the consequences to the state, than of the danger to which themselves were exposed, because the combat was to determine which of the two nations should govern the other, and so being agitated with these reflections, and solicitous about the event, they gave their whole attention to a fight which could not but alarm them.

§ 4. The signal is given; the champions march three and three against each other; themselves alone inspired with the courage of armies. Both sides insensible of their own danger have nothing before their eyes, but the slavery or liberty of their country, whose future destiny depends wholly upon their valour. The moment the clashing of their weapons is heard, and the glitter of their swords is seen, the spectators, seized with fear and alarm, (while hope of success inclined to neither side) continued motionless, so that one would have said, they had lost the use of their speech, and even of breath.

they thought of nothing but the fate of the public, confided entirely to their personal valour. Two noble thoughts, and founded in truth ! But can any one read what follows, and not be seized with equal horror and trembling with the spectators of the fight ? The expressions are all poetical in this place, and youth must be told, that poetical expressions, which are to be used seldom and very sparingly, were requisite from the grandeur of the subject, and the necessity there was to describe so glorious a spectacle in a suitable pomp of words.

The mournful silence which kept both sides in a manner suspended and immoveable, turned immediately into acclamations of joy on the side of the Albans, when they saw two of the Horatii killed. The Romans, on the other hand, lost all hope, and were in the utmost anxiety. Alarmed and trembling for the surviving Horatius, who was to combat three antagonists, they had no thoughts but of the danger he was in. Was not this the real sense of both armies, after the fall of the two Horatii ; and is not the picture which Livy has given us of it very natural ?

h 5. *Confertis deinde manibus, cum jam non motus tantum corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent ; duo Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimis vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant.*

I shall give the remainder of this quotation with little or no reflection, to avoid a tedious prolixity. I must only observe to the reader, that the chief beauty of this relation, as well as of history in general,

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I

according

h 5. Afterwards, when they began to engage, not only the motion of their hands, and the brandishing of their weapons, drew the eyes of the spectators, but the wounds, and blood running down ; two Romans falling dead at the feet of the Albans, who were all wounded. Upon their falling, the Alban army shouted aloud, whilst the Roman legions remained without hope, but not anxiety, trembling for the surviving Roman, surrounded by the three Albans.

according to ⁱ Cicero's judicious remark, consists in the surprising variety which runs through the whole, and the different emotions of fear, anxiety, hope, joy, despair, and grief, occasioned by the sudden alterations, and unexpected vicissitudes, which rouse the attention by an agreeable surprise, keep the reader in a kind of suspense, and give him incredible pleasure even from that uncertainty, especially where the narration concludes with an affecting and singular event. It will be easy to apply these principles to every thing that follows.

^k 6. *Forte is integer fuit; ut universis solus nequam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capeffit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus sineret.*

^l 7. *Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes: unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu redit. Et, dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis ut opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat.*

^m 8. *Tum clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium sc-*
let,

ⁱ Multam casus nostri tibi varietatem in scribendo suppeditant, plenam cujusdam voluptatis, quae vehementer animos hominum in legendo scripto retinere possit: nihil est enim apertius ad delectationem lectoris, quam temporum varietates, fortunaeque vicissitudines. . . . Ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem. Si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus jucundissimae lectionis voluptate. Cic. ep. 12. l. 5. ad famil.

^k 6. Happily, he was not wounded: thus, being too weak against three, though superior to any one of them single, he had recourse to a stratagem, in which he succeeded. In order to divide his adversaries, he fled, being persuaded they would follow him with more or less expedition, as their strength, after so much loss of blood, would permit.

^l 7. Having fled a considerable space from the spot where they had fought, he looked back and saw the Curiatii pursuing him at great distances from each other, and one of them very near; upon which he turned, and charged him with all his force, and, while the Alban army were crying out to his brothers to succour him, Horatius, who had already slain the first enemy, runs to a second victory.

^m 8. The Romans then encourage their champion with great shouts.

let, *Romani adjuvant militem suum : et ille defungi prælio festinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit.*

¶ 9. *Jamque æquat Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus, et geminata victoria ferocem, in certamen tertium dabant : alter, fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage, victori objicitur hosti. Nec illud prælium fuit.*

How beautiful are the thoughts and expressions !
How lively the images and descriptions !

¶ 10. *Romanus exultans, Duos, inquit, fratrum manibus dedi : tertium causæ belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo. Male sustinenti arma, gladium superne jugulo defigit : jacentem spoliat.*

¶ 11. *Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt, eo majore cum gaudio, quo propius metum res fuerat.*

¶ 12. *Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus*

I 2

bus

shouts, such as generally proceed from unexpected joy, and he, on the other hand, hastens to put an end to the second combat; and in this manner, before the other combatant, who was not far off, could come up to assist his brother, he killed him also.

¶ 9. There remained now but one combatant on each side; but though their number was equal, their strength and hope were far from being so. The Roman, without a wound, and flushed with his double victory, advances with great confidence to this third combat. His antagonist, on the contrary, weak from the loss of blood, and spent with running, scarce drags his legs after him; and already vanquished by the death of his brothers, encounters the victor. But this could not be called a combat.

¶ 10. The Roman then cried out with an air of triumph, I have sacrificed the two first to the manes of my brothers; I will now sacrifice the third to my country, that Rome may subdue Alba, and give laws to it. Curiatius being scarce able to carry his arms, the other thrusts his sword into his breast, and afterwards takes his spoils.

¶ 11. The Romans receive Horatius in their camp with a joy and acknowledgment proportioned to the danger they had escaped.

¶ 12. After this, each party apply themselves to burying their dead, but with sentiments widely different; the Romans having enlarged their empire, and the Albans become the subjects of a foreign power.

bus animis vertuntur; quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri ditionis alienæ facti.

I believe nothing is more capable of forming the taste of young people both for reading authors and composition, than to propose such passages as these to them; and to habituate them to discover their beauties without any assistance, by stripping them of all their embellishments, and reducing them to simple propositions, as we have done here. This method will teach them how to find out and express thoughts.

I shall add several reflections from father Bouhours, most of them with examples from Latin and French authors, taken from his *Maniere de bien penser*, &c.

Different reflections upon thoughts.

I. Truth is the first quality, and in a manner the source of thoughts. The most beautiful are vicious; or rather, those which pass for beautiful, are not really so, unless founded in truth, *pag. 9.*

Thoughts are the images of things, as words are the images of thoughts; and to think, generally speaking, is to form in one's self the picture of an object either of the senses or the understanding. Now images and pictures are only true from the resemblance they bear to their objects. Thus a thought is true, when it represents things faithfully; and false, when it represents them otherwise than as they are in themselves, *ibid.*

Truth, which is indivisible in other respects, is not so in this case. Thoughts are more or less true, as they are more or less conformable to their object. Entire conformity forms what we call the justness of a thought; that is, as clothes fit, when they fit well on the body, and are completely proportioned to the person who wears them; so thoughts are just when they perfectly agree with the things they represent: so that a just thought, to speak properly, is a thought true in all respects, and in every light we view it, *p. 41.*

We have a beautiful example of this in the Latin epigram upon Dido, which has been so happily trans-

late

lated into the French language. For the better understanding it, we must suppose what history relates of this matter; viz. that Dido fled to Africa with all her wealth, after Sicheus had been killed; and also what poesy feigns, viz. that she killed herself after Eneas had left her.

Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito :

Hoc pereunte, fugis ; hoc fugiente, peris.

Pauvre Didon, où t'a s réduite :

De tes maris, le triste fort ?

L'un, en mourant, cause ta fuite :

L'autre, en fuyant, cause ta mort.

We must not however imagine that this exact play of words is any way essential to justness, which does not always require so much symmetry, or so great a sort of terms. It is enough for the thought to be true in all its extent, and that nothing be false in it, in whatever light we examine it, p. 41, 42.

Plutarch, who was a man of solid understanding, condemns the celebrated thought of an historian upon the burning of the temple of Ephesus : *That it was no wonder this magnificent temple, dedicated to Diana, should be burnt the very night Alexander was born ; because, as the goddess assisted at Olympias's delivery, she was so very busy, that she could not extinguish the fire.* 'Tis surprising that Cicero looked upon this as a pretty thought ; he who always thinks and judges right. But it is still more surprising that so austere a judge as Plutarch had so far forgot his severity, as to add, that the historian's reflection was cold enough to extinguish the fire, p. 49, 50.

I. 3

Quintilian

Auson.

On a remarqué ici une faute contre la langue, qui demande le verbe au masculin, parce que le nominatif est après le verbe.

Concinne, ut multa, Timaeus; qui cum in historia dixisset, *ea nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianae Ephesiae templum deslagravisse : adjunxit, minime id esse mirandum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesset voluisset, abfuisse de-*
De nat. Deor. l. 2. n. 69.

Quintilian laughs very justly at certain orators, who imagined there was something very beautiful in saying, *That great rivers were navigable at their springs, and that good trees bore fruit at their first shooting out of the ground.* [^u These comparisons may dazzle at first, and were very much cried up in Quintilian's time; but when we examine them narrowly, we discover the false in them,] p. 72.

II. To think justly, it is not enough that the thoughts have nothing false in them, for they sometimes become trivial by being true; and when Cicero applauds Crassus on this subject of thoughts, after saying that orator's were so just and true, he adds, they are so new and so uncommon: * *Sententia Crassi tam integræ, tam veræ, tam novæ.* Viz. that besides truth, which always satisfies the mind, something more is wanting to strike and surprize it. . . . Truth is to a thought, what foundations are to building; it supports and gives it solidity: but a building, which had nothing to recommend it but solidity, would not please those who are skilled in architecture. Besides solidity, in well-built houses, magnificence, beauty, and even delicacy, are required: and this I would have in the thoughts we are now speaking of. Truth, which pleases so much on other occasions without any embellishment, requires it here; and its ornament is sometimes no more than a new turn given to things. Examples will shew the reader my meaning.

Death spares none. This is a very true thought, but it is very plain and common. In order to raise it, and make it new in some respect, we need only turn it as Horace and Malherbe have done. The former every body knows has it thus:

Pallida mors æquo pede pulsat pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turre.

Carm. lib. I. od. 4

“ Dead

^u Quorum utrumque in iis est, quæ me jüvene ubique cantari solebant: Magnorum fluminum navigabiles fontes sunt, et, generosioris arboris statim planta cum fructu est. Quint. 8. c. 4.

* De orat. l. 2. n. 188.

“ Death overthrows equally the palaces of Kings
“ and the huts of the poor.”

The second gives it a different turn.

Le pauvre en sa cabane où le chaume le couvre,
Eût sujet à ses loix.
Et la garde qui veille aux barrières du Louvre,
N'en défend pas nos Rois.

The turn of the Latin poet is more figurative and lively; that of the French poet more natural and delicate. There's something noble in both, p. 75, 78, 79.

1. [Elevated y thoughts, which represent nothing but what is great to the mind, principally heighten a discourse.] It is the sublimity and grandeur of a thought which properly transports and ravishes us, provided it be conformable to the subject. For it is a general rule, that our thoughts must suit our matter; and nothing is more inconsistent ^z than to introduce sublime thoughts upon a mean subject, which requires only those of the mediate kind. It were almost better to introduce mediate thoughts upon a great subject, which required sublime ones, p. 80.

^a *Fortune has given you nothing greater, than the power to preserve the lives of such multitudes; nor nature any thing better than the will to do so.* Thus the Roman orator speaks to Cæsar; and an historian speaks of the former in the following words. ^b *He owed his excellent endowments solely to himself; and his great genius prevented the conquered nations from having the same advantage over the Romans by genius and knowledge, the Romans had over them by valour.*
But

¹ Non ad persuasionem, sed ad stuporem rapiunt grandia. Longin. de sublim. sect. 1.

² A sermone tenui sublime discordat, sique corruptum, quia in plano tumet. Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.

³ Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius, quam ut velis conservare quam plurimos. Orat. pro Lig. n. 38.

⁴ Omnia incrementa sua sibi debuit: vir ingenio maximus, qui efficit ne, quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur. Vell. Patere. lib. 2.

But Seneca the elder says something nobler and greater on this occasion, ^c *That Cicero's understanding alone was equal to the Roman empire*, p. 83, 84.

Cicero speaks very nobly of Cæsar, ^d by saying there was no occasion to oppose the Alps against the Gauls, nor the Rhine against the Germans; that though the highest mountains should be levelled, and the deepest rivers dried up, Italy would have nothing to fear; and that the brave actions and victories of Cæsar would defend it much better than the ramparts with which nature had fortified it, p. 87.

Pompey having conquered Tigranes King of Armenia, would not suffer him to continue long at his feet, but put the crown again upon his head. ^e *He restored him to his former condition*, says an historian, *thinking there was as much glory to make, as to conquer Kings*, p. 88.

The funeral oration of Henrietta of France, Queen of England, and that of Henrietta Anne of England, Duchess of Orleans (by M. Bossuet) are full of thoughts which Hermogenes calls majestic.

“ Her great soul was superior to her birth; any other place but a throne had been unworthy of her.”

“ As gentle, familiar, and agreeable, as firm and courageous, she knew as well how to persuade and convince, as to command; and could make reason no less prevalent than authority.”

“ Notwithstanding the ill success of his arms (speaking of King Charles I.) though he could be overcome, he could not be compelled; and as he never refused any thing just and reasonable when a conqueror, he always rejected whatever was inglorious and unjust when a prisoner, p. 105.”

Thoughts

^c Illud Ingenium, quod solum populus Romanus par imperio suo habuit. Controv. lib. 1.

^d Perfecit ille, ut si montes resedissent, amnes exaruisissent, non naturæ præsidio, sed victoria sua rebusque gestis Italianam munitam haberemus. Contra Pis. n. 82.

^e In pristinum fortunæ habitum restituit: aequè pulchrum esse judicans, et vincere reges, et facere. Val. Max. l. 5. c. 1.

Thoughts of this kind carry their own conviction along with them, seize the judgment in a manner by force, move our passions, and fire our souls.

2. This is then a first species of thoughts which not only gain belief, as being true, but excite admiration, as being new and extraordinary. Those of the second species are the agreeable, which surprize and strike us sometimes as much as the noble and sublime; but effect that by their beauty, which the others do by grandeur and sublimity. Sublime thoughts are also agreeable, but it is not their agreeableness that forms their character. They please, because they have something great, which always charms the mind; whereas the others please only because they are agreeable. What is charming in the latter, is like the soft, tender, and graceful touches we observe in some paintings. It is partly that *soft and facetious*, the *molle atque facetum*, which ^f Horace attributes to Virgil, and does not consist in what we call humorous, but in some inexpressible grace, which cannot be defined in general, and of which there is more than one kind, *p.* 131, 132.

Comparisons taken from florid and delightful subjects form agreeable thoughts, in like manner as those we take from grand subjects form noble ones. "I think, says Costar, it is a great advantage for a person to be naturally inclined to good; which unforced disposition is like a gentle rivulet, that following its own natural course, runs without obstacle between two flowery banks. Methinks, on the contrary, those who are good from reflection, who perform sometimes more virtuous actions than the former, are like those fountains in which art does violence to nature; and which, after having spouted their waters to the skies, are often stopp'd by the least obstacle.

Balsac thinks very prettily, when he says of a little river, "This beautiful stream is so fond of these
" meadows,

“ meadows, that it divides itself into a thousand
 “ branches, and forms an infinite number of islands,
 “ and turnings, in order to sport itself in them the
 “ more agreeably, *p.* 137, 138.”

Ingenious fictions produce as agreeable effects in prose as in verse. They are so many diverting spectacles to the mind, which always please persons of taste and judgment. When Pliny the younger exhorts Cornelius Tacitus to follow his example and study, even when hunting, he tells him, that the exercise of the body exalts the mind; that woods, solitude, and even the silence of some sports, contribute very much to our thinking justly of things; in fine, that if he carried his tablets with him, he would find that Minerva delighted as much in forests and mountains as Diana. Here is a little fiction in a very few words. Pliny had said before ^b, that being at a hunting match, where they took three wild boars in toils, he sat down near the toils, with his tablets in his hand, writing down any happy thought which occurred to his mind, in order, that if he should chance to return home with empty hands, yet his pocket book might be full. This is a pretty thought; but there is more beauty in his imagining that Minerva inhabits the woods as well as Diana, and that she is to be found in the valleys and mountains, *p.* 139, 140.

The agreeable arises generally from opposition; especially in thoughts which have two meanings, and, as it were, two faces; for that figure which seems to deny what it advances, and contradicts itself in outward appearance, is vastly elegant. Sophocles says, the presents of an enemy are not presents, and that a

* Mirum est ut animus agitatione motuque corporis excitetur. Jam undique silvae, et solitudo, ipsumque illud silentium quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt. Experieris non Dianam magis montibus, quam Minervam, inerrare. Lib. 1. ep. 6.

^b Ad retia sedebam: erant in proximo non venabulum aut lancea, sed sylus et pugillares. Meditabar aliquid, enotabamque, ut, si manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportarem. Ibid.

cruel mother is not a mother. ⁱ And Seneca tells us, a great fortune is great slavery; Tacitus, ^k that we are sometimes guilty of the basest and most servile actions for the sake of power. ^l Horace speaks of a sage folly, of an active sloth, and of a jarring concord. Some have said, Kings are slaves upon the throne; that the body and soul are two enemies who cannot part with each other, and two friends who cannot bear each other. According to Voiture, the secret to be healthy and gay, consists in the exercise of the body, and the tranquillity of the mind. The same author says, speaking of a person of quality who was a prodigious genius, and his friend; I am never so haughty as when I receive his letters, nor so humble as when I am going to answer them, *p.* 146.

However, we must not fancy that a thought cannot be agreeable or beautiful, unless it glitters and carries with it a play of words; simplicity alone sometimes forms all its beauty. This simplicity consists in a plain and ingenuous, but lively and rational air, such as is observed sometimes in a peasant of good sense, or in a witty child, *p.* 150.

3. There is a third species of thoughts, which have agreeableness mixed with delicacy; or rather, whose whole agreeableness, beauty, and merit, are owing to their delicacy. We may say, a delicate thought is the most exquisite production, and, as it were, the quintessence of wit. In my opinion, tutors should reason upon the delicacy of the thoughts which are introduced in works of genius, with relation to that of the works of nature. ^m The most delicate are those which nature delights to work in miniature, and whose matter

ⁱ Magna servitus est magna fortuna. De Consol. ad Polyb.

^k Omnia serviliter pro dominatione. Hist. lib. 1.

^l Insanientis dum sapientiae consultus erro.—Strenua nos exercet inertia.—Rerum concordia discors Horat.

^m Rerum natura nusquam magis, quam in minimis tota. Plin. lib. 11. cap. 2.

In arctum coacta rerum naturae majestas, multis nulla sui parte mirabilior. Idem, lib. 37. Proem.

ter being almost imperceptible, acts in such a manner, that it is doubtful whether she intends to discover or conceal her art. Such is a perfect insect, the more worthy of admiration, as it is less visible, according to Pliny, *p.* 158, 160.

Let us say, by way of analogy, that a delicate thought has this property, *viz.* to be comprized in a few words; and that its sense is not so visible or conspicuous. ^a One would at first sight imagine, that it conceals a part of its sense, on purpose that we may search after, and guess at it; or at least, that she only presents a glimpse of it, to give us the pleasure of discovering it entirely, if we have genius: for as we must have good eyes, and employ even those of art, I mean telescopes and microscopes, to behold the master-pieces of nature; the intelligent and clear-sighted only are capable of discovering the whole force and sense of a fine thought. ^b This little mystery is, as it were, the soul of the delicacy of thoughts; so that those which have nothing mysterious either in their foundation or turn, and discover themselves entirely at first sight, are not properly delicate, how witty soever they may be in other respects. Whence we may conclude, that delicacy adds something inexpressible to the sublime, and to the agreeable or beautiful, which will appear more clearly by examples, *p.* 160, 161.

Pliny the panegyrist tells his monarch, who had long refused the title of father of his country, and would not receive it till he thought he had deserved it; *° You are the only man who has been the father of his country before you were made so,* *p.* 162.

The river which made Egypt so fruitful, by its regular inundations, having missed overflowing for one season, Trajan sent great quantities of corn for the relief

^a Auditoribus grata sunt haec, quae cum intellexerint, acumine suo delectantur, et gaudent, non quasi audiverint, sed quasi invenerint. Quintil. lib. 8. cap. 2.

^b Soli omnium contigit tibi, ut pater patriae esses, antequam fieres.

relief of the people. ^p *The Nile*, says Pliny, *never flowed more abundantly for the glory of the Romans*, p. 163.

The same author says upon Trajan's entry into Rome; ^q *Some proclaimed aloud, that they had seen enough after they had seen you; and others, that it was now necessary to extend life to the utmost*, p. 165.

There is a great deal of delicacy in Virgil's reflection on the imprudence or weakness of Orpheus, who as he was bringing back his wife out of hell, looked back, and lost her the same instant: ^r *A pardonable folly indeed, if the infernal Gods were capable of pardoning*, p. 178.

There is no less delicacy in Cicero's applause of Caesar; ^s *'Tis usual with you to forget nothing but injuries*, p. 209.

Besides the delicacy of thoughts, which are merely ingenious, there is one that results from the sentiments, in which the natural affections have a greater share than the understanding. ^t *I shall never see you more*, says a poet on occasion of the death of a brother he loved passionately; *I shall never see you more, my dear brother; you that were dearer to me than life: but I will love you for ever*. Another speaks thus of a person who was very dear to him: ^u *You are to me a numerous company in the most solitary and desert places*. But there is nothing more delicate than the complaints of a turtle dove, introduced speaking in a little dialogue in verse, between that bird and a man who passes by.

LE PASSANT.

Que fais-tu dans ce bois plaintive, tourterelle?

Turtle, why mean you in this grove?

Vol. II.

K

LA

^p Nilus Aegypto quidem saepe, sed gloriae nostrae nunquam largior fluxit.

^q Alii se satis vixisse, te viso, te recepto: alii nunc magis esse vivendum praedicabant.

^r Cum subita incautum dementia capit amantem;

Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes. Geor. l. 4.

^s Oblivisci nihil soles, nisi injurias. Orat. pro Ligari. n. 35.

^t Nunquam ego te vita frater amabilior aspiciam posthac: ut certe semper amabo. Catul.

^u In solis tu mihi turba locis. Tibul.

LA TOURTERELLE.

Je gémis : j'ai perdu ma campagne fidele.

The loss, alas ! of her I love.

LE PASSANT.

Ne crains tu point que l'oïseleur

Ne te fasse mourir comme elle ?

*The fowler's art dost thou not fear,
Who thy complaints perhaps may hear ?*

LA TOURTERELLE.

Si ce n'est lui, ce fera ma douleur.

*No, 'tis from him I hope relief,**The end of life, the end of grief.* p. 213, 216, 217.

I shall conclude this extract with a reflection no less rational than witty, of father Bouhours ; it is in his book of ingenious thoughts. *Whatever, says he, is most delicate in the thoughts and expressions of authors who have writ with great justness (and delicacy) is lost, when turned into another language ; not unlike those exquisite essences whose subtle perfumes evaporate, when poured out of one vessel into another,* p. 95.

Of shining Thoughts.

There is a kind of thoughts, little known to the writers of the Augustan age, and which were in no esteem or currency, till the decline of eloquence. These consist in a short, lively and shining way of expressing one's self ; which please chiefly by means of a certain point of wit, that strikes us by its boldness and novelty, and by its ingenious, but very uncommon turn. Seneca had a great share in introducing that vicious taste at Rome ; and it was so general and predominant in Quintilian's time ^u, that the orators

^u Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis sensus, in fine sermonis feriat aurem. Turpe autem, ac prope nefas ducunt respirare ullo loco, qui acclamationem non petierat. Quintilianus l. 8. c. 5.

made it a law among themselves, to close almost every period with some sparkling thought, in order to gain the plaudits and acclamations of the auditors.

Quintilian's reflections upon that subject are very judicious*. He does not condemn such kind of thoughts in themselves, which may make an oration great and noble, and give it at the same time strength, grace, and elevation; he only condemns the abuse and too great affectation of it. ^y He would have them be looked upon as the eyes of the discourse; and eyes must not be spread over the whole body. ^z He agrees that this new ornament may be added to the manner of writing among the ancients, as it was allowed to add to the ancient way of living, a certain neatness and elegance, which could not be condemned, and of which, even endeavours should be used to make a kind of virtue; but excess should be avoided. ^a For after all, the ancient simplicity of speaking would still be more valuable than this new licence.

^b Indeed, when these thoughts are too numerous, they hurt and suppress one another, like trees planted too near together; and occasion the same obscurity and confusion in an oration, which too many figures do in a picture.

^c Besides, as these thoughts, whose beauty consists in being short and lively, are distinct from one another,

K 2

ther,

* Quod tantum in sententia bona crimen est? Non causae prodest? non judicem movet? non dicentem commendat? Ibid.

^y Ego haec lumina orationis velut oculos quosdam eloquentiae esse credo: sed neque oculos esse toto corpore velim. Ibid.

^z Patet media quaedam via: sicut in cultu victuque accessit aliquis citra reprehensionem nitor, quem, sicut possumus, adiciamus virtutibus. Ibid.

^a Si necesse sit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quam novam licentiam.

^b Densitas earum obstat invicem, ut in satis omnibus fructibusque arborum nihil ad justam magnitudinem adolescere potest, quod loco, in quem crescat, caret. Nec pictura, in qua nihil circumlitum est, eminet: ideoque artifices etiam, cum opera in unam tabulam opera contulerunt, spatiis distinguunt, ut umbrae corpora cadant. Ibid.

^c Facit res eadem concisam quoque orationem. Subsistit enim in una sententia; ideoque post eam utrique aliud est initium.

Unde

ther, and each forms a complete sense; the oration from thence becomes very disjointed and concise, without any connexion, and, as it were, composed rather of pieces and fragments, than of the members and parts, which form a whole or perfect body. Now, such a composition seems to be entirely opposite to the harmony of an oration, which requires more connexion and extent.

^d We may likewise say, that these shining thoughts cannot so justly be compared to a luminous flame, as to those sparks of fire which fly through the smoke.

^e In fine, when our only care is to crowd them, one upon the other, we become very indelicate in distinguishing and chusing; and among such a number, there must necessarily be a great many flat, puerile, and ridiculous ones.

It is obvious to those who are ever so little acquainted with Seneca, that what I have now said, is his portrait, and the peculiar character of his writings; and Quintilian observes it evidently in another place ^f, where, after doing justice to the merit and learning of that great man, and acknowledging that we find in his works a great number of beautiful thoughts and just maxims for forming our manners, he adds, that with regard to eloquence, a vicious and depraved taste

runs

Unde soluta fere oratio, et e singulis non membris, sed frustis collata, structura caret; cum illa rotunda et undique circumcissa, insistere invicem nequeant. Ibid.

^d Lumina illa non flammae, sed scintillis inter fumum emicantibus, similia dixeris. Ibid.

^e Hoc quoque accidit, quod solas captanti sententias, multas necesse est dicere leves, frigidas, ineptas. Non enim potest esse delectus, ubi numero laboratur. Ibid.

^f Multae in eo claraeque sententiae, multa enim etiam morum gratia legenda: sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosissima, quod abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno iudicio. Nam—si non omnia sua amasset, si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum, quam puerorum amore comprobaretur. Multa probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt, eligere modo curae sit: quod utinam ipse fecisset! Digna enim fuit illa natura, quae meliora vellet, quae quod voluit effecit. Quintil.

l. 10. c. 1.

runs through almost every part of them; and that they are more dangerous, because they abound with agreeable faults, which we cannot but approve. For that reason, he says, it were to be wished that so fine a genius, capable of every thing great in eloquence, of so rich and fruitful an invention, had had a more correct taste, and a more exact discernment; that he had been less enamoured of his own productions, that he had known how to make a proper choice of them; and, above all, that he had not weakened the important matters he treated, by a crowd of trifling thoughts, & which may deceive at first, from the appearance and glitter of wit, but which are found frigid and puerile, when examined with some attention. I shall extract some passages from this author, that youth may compare his stile with Cicero's and Livy's, and examine whether Quintilian's judgment of it be well founded, or whether it be the effect of prejudice to Seneca.

I. Conference between Demaratus and Xerxes.

Cum i bellum Gracie indiceret Xerxes, animum tantum, oblitumque quam caducis consideret, nemo non im-

K 3

pulit

Plerique minimis etiam inventiunculis gaudent, quae excessus risum habent, inventae facie ingenii blandiuntur.
Quintil. l. 8. cap. 5.

Senec. de benefic. l. 6. c. 31.

At the time that Xerxes, puffed up with pride, and blinded with a vain opinion of his strength, meditated a war against Greece, all the courtiers who were about him endeavoured to vie with each other, in pushing him, by their extravagant flatteries, down the precipice to which his ambition led him; one saying, that the bare news of the war would fill the Greeks with confusion, and that they would fly at the first report of his march. Another said, that having so great an army, he was not only sure of conquering Greece, but of intirely destroying it; and that there was nothing to fear, but that upon his arrival he should find the cities abandoned, and the country a perfect desert, by the precipitate flight of the people; and, consequently, that his great armies would have no enemies to engage. On the other side, they gave him to understand, that nature itself was scarce capacious enough for him; that the seas were too narrow for his fleets; that no camp was large enough for his infantry, nor any plain for his cavalry; and that there would hardly be space enough in the air for the darts which would be thrown from such an infinite number of hands.

*pulit. Alius aiebat, non laturos nuncium belli, et ad primam adventus famam terga versuros. Alius, nihil esse dubii quin illa mole non vinci solum Gracia, sed obrui posset: magis verendum ne vacuas desertasque urbes inveni-
rent, et profugis hostibus vasta solitudines relinquerentur, non habituris, ubi tantas vires exercere possent. Alius, illi vix rerum naturam sufficere: angusta esse classibus maria, militi castra, explicandis equestribus copiis campestris: a: vix patere cælum satis ad emittenda omni manu tela.*

¶ Cum in hunc modum multa undique jactarentur, quæ hominem nimia aestimatione sui furem concitarent; Demaratus Lacedæmonius solus dixit, ipsam illam qua sibi placeret multitudinem, indigestam et gravem, metuendam esse ducenti; non enim vires, sed pondus habere: immodica nunquam regi posse; nec diu durare, quicquid regi non potest.

¶ In primo, inquit, statim monte Lacones objecti dabunt tibi sui experimentum. Tot ista gentium millia trecenti morabuntur: hærebunt, et corporibus obstruent. Tota illos Asia non movebit loco. Tantas minas belli, et pene totius humani generis ruinam, paucissimi sustinebunt. Cum te mutatis legibus suis natura transmiserit, in semita hærebis, et aestimabis futura damna, cum putaveris quanti

Thermo-

¶ Among all these compliments which were so likely to turn the brain of a Prince, who was already intoxicated with the idea of his greatness, Demaratus, a Spartan, was the only man who durst tell him, that the foundation of his confidence was the very thing he ought most to apprehend; that so vast a body of forces, so enormous and monstrous a throng had weight, but no strength; that it is impossible to govern or manage what has neither bounds nor measure, and that what cannot be governed, cannot subsist for any time.

¶ A handful of people whom you will meet on the first mountain you come to, will convince you of the courage of the Spartans; three hundred of these will stop the millions you drag after you; they will stand immoveable in the pass which will be committed to their care, and they will defend it to the last breath, and will make a barrier and rampart of their bodies; all the power of Asia will not make them retreat one step; they alone will stand the dreadful onset of almost the whole world united against them. After you have forced nature to change all her laws, in order to open a way for you, you will be stopped in a narrow passage. You may judge of the loss you will afterwards sustain, by that which the passage of Thermopylae will occasion, when, at the same time, you find they can stop you, you will also find they can put you to flight.

Thermopylarum angusta constiterint. Scies te fugari posse, cum scieris posse retineri.

¶ Cedent quidem tibi pluribus locis, velut torrentis modo ablatis, cujus cum magno terrore prima vis defluit: deinde hinc atque illinc coorientur, et tuis te viribus prement.

¶ Verum est quod dicitur, majorem belli apparatus esse, quam qui recipi ab his regionibus possit, quas oppugnare constituis. Sed hac res contra nos est. Ob hoc ipsum, te Græcia vincet, quia non capit. Uti toto te non potes.

¶ Præterea quæ una rebus salus est, occurrere ad primos rerum impetus, et inclinatis opem ferre non poteris, nec fulcire ac firmare labantia. Multo ante vinceris, quam victum esse te sentias.

¶ Caterum, non est quod exercitum tuum ob hoc sustineri putes non posse, quia numerus ejus duci quoque ignotus est. Nihil tam magnum est, quod perire non possit, cui nascitur in perniciem, ut alia quiescant, ex ipsa magnitudine sua causa.

¶ Acciderunt quæ Demaratus prædixerat. Divina atque

¶ Your armies, like an impetuous flood, whose first efforts nothing can resist, may at first carry every thing before them; but your enemies will rally immediately, and, attacking you on different sides, will destroy you by your own strength.

¶ What is reported, is very true, viz. that the country you are going to attack, is not sufficient to contain such immense preparations of war, but this makes directly against us. Greece will conquer you, because it cannot contain you; you will be able to employ only a part of yourself.

¶ Besides, that which forms the security and refuge of an army, becomes absolutely impracticable to you. You will neither be able to give proper orders, nor to come up time enough to the first shocks your army will receive, nor to support those who give way, nor encourage those who begin to retire; so that you will be overcome long before you can be near enough to be sensible of it.

¶ To conclude, Do not flatter yourself, that nothing will be able to resist your forces, because their numbers are not known even to their general; there is nothing so great but may perish, when, though there is no other obstacle, its own greatness is one cause for its ruin.

¶ Every thing happened according to Demaratus's prediction. Xerxes, who had made a resolution to surmount all the obstacles which gods and men should oppose to his enterprizes, and who had overthrown every thing that opposed his passage, was stopped by three hundred men; and, seeing very soon the remains of his formidable armies dispersed and defeated throughout

que humana impellentem, et mutantem quicquid obstitit, trecenti stare jusserunt: stratusque per totam passim Graciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exercitu turba distaret.

^r Itaque Xerxes, pudore quam damno miserior, Demarato gratias egit, quod solus sibi verum dixisset, et permisit petere quod vellet. Petit ille ut Sardes, maximam Asiae civitatem, curru vectus intraret, rectam capite tiam gerens: id solis datum regibus. Dignus fuerat praemio, antequam peteret. Sed quam miserabilis gens, in qua nemo fuit qui verum diceret regi, nisi qui non dicebat sibi!

We must own, that this little piece of Seneca is very fine, and that Demaratus's discourse is full of good sense and just reflections, but methinks the stile is too uniform and the antithesis too often made use of. The thoughts are too close and too much crowded. ^s They are all disjointed from one another, which makes the stile too concise and abrupt. ^t A kind of point concludes almost every period. *Scies te fugari posse, cum scieris posse retineri. . . . Ob hoc ipsum te Gracia vincet, quia non capit. . . . Multo ante vinceris, quam victum esse te sentias.* This is not so distasteful, when we read only one distinct passage; but when a whole work is in the same strain, 'tis not easy to bear the reading of it for any time, whereas those of Cicero and Livy never tire.

Besides, can we use so unconnected and corrupt a stile for discourses, where the auditors are to be instructed and affected; and can it therefore be proper for the bar or the pulpit?

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out all Greece, he found the difference between multitudes and an army.

^r Then Xerxes, more unhappy from the shame and disgrace of so senseless an expedition, than the loss he had sustained, thanked Demaratus, because he only told him the truth, and gave him leave to ask what favour he would; upon which the latter desired the liberty of making his entry into Sardis (one of the greatest cities of Asia) in a chariot, with an upright tiara upon his head, a privilege granted to kings only. He would have deserved that favour, had he not asked it. But what idea shall we entertain of a nation, where there was not a man to speak truth to the king, except one who did not tell it to himself?

^s Unde soluta fere oratio, et à singulis non membris sed frustis collata.

^t Nunc illud volunt, ut opinis locus, omnis sensus, in fine sermonis feriat aurem.

We sometimes meet in Cicero with this kind of thoughts closing a period in a short and sprightly manner; but he is discreet and sparing in the use of those graces, which are, as it were, the salt and seasoning of a discourse; and which, for that reason, must not be lavished.

^u *Levicolus* * *sane noster Demosthenes, qui illo susurro delectari se dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculæ, ut mos in Græcia est, insusurrantisque alteri: Hic est ille Demosthenes. Quid hoc levius? at quantus orator! Sed apud alios loqui videlicet didicerat, non multum interesse secum.* This thought is very like that of Seneca's, *Quam miserabilis gens, in qua nemo fuit qui verum diceret regi, nisi qui non dicebat sibi!*

II. Seneca's reflection upon a saying of Augustus.

Seneca relates a saying of Augustus, who being very much troubled for his having divulged the irregularities of his daughter, said, *he would not have been guilty of so much imprudence, had Agrippa or Mæcenas been living.* Seneca, to heighten this sentence, makes a very judicious reflection upon it. ² *Adeo tot habenti millia hominum, duos reparare difficile est! Cæsa sunt legiones, et protinus scriptæ: fracta classis, et intra paucos dies natavit nova: sævitum est in opera publica ignibus, surrexerunt meliora consumptis. Tota vita, Agrippæ et Mæcenatis vacavit locus.* Nothing is more beautiful

^u Demosthenes, whom we admire so much, must have been very vain, when he was so sensibly affected, as he himself owns, with the little flattering expression of a woman that carried water, who pointing at him with her finger, whispers to a neighbour, *That is Demosthenes.* How mean was this! And yet, how great an orator was he! But this proceeded from his having learnt to speak to others, and seldom spoke to himself.

* Lib. 5. Tusc. n. 103.

^y De benef. l. 6. c. 32.

² So difficult it is, among so many millions, to find enough to repair the loss of two! Legions have been cut to pieces, others have been raised immediately; a fleet has been wrecked, a new one has been built in a few days; a fire has consumed public edifices, when others, more magnificent than the former, rise almost immediately out of the earth: but while Augustus lived, the place of Agrippa and Mæcenas was always vacant.

beautiful or judicious than this thought, *All losses may be repaired except that of a friend.* But he should have stopped there.

² *Quid putem?* adds Seneca. *Defuisse similes qui assumerentur, an ipsius vitium fuisse, qui maluit queri quam querere? Non est quod existimemus Agrippam et Mecænatem solitos illi vera dicere: qui, si vixissent, inter dissimulantes fuissent. Regalis ingenii mos est, in præsentium contumeliam amissa laudare, et his virtutem dare vera dicendi, à quibus jam audiendi periculum non est.*

Besides, that nothing is more trifling than this play of words, *maluit queri quam querere*; the second reflection destroys the first entirely. This supposes it a difficult matter to supply the loss of good friends, and the other affirms quite the contrary. Farther, why does Seneca offer so much injury to Augustus, or rather to his two friends, as to say, they did not use to tell him the truth; and that they durst not do it on the occasion in question? Mecænas had always the liberty of speaking freely to him; and we know that at a certain trial, where Augustus seemed inclinable to be cruel, this favourite, not being able to approach him by reason of the crowd, threw a little note to him in writing, by which he desired him *to come away, and not act the part of the executioner.* As for Agrippa, he had courage enough to advise Augustus to restore the commonwealth to its ancient liberty, at a time that he was master of the empire, and deliberating whether he should form a republican or monarchical state.

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³ What shall I think of this saying of Augustus? Must I really imagine there were not such men left in the empire as he could make choice of for friends; or was it his own fault, chusing to complain, rather than to give himself the trouble of searching for them? It is not probable that Agrippa and Mecænas used to tell him truth; and had they been living, they would have been as silent as others on this occasion. But it is a piece of policy among princes to speak well of the dead, to shame the living; and to applaud the generous liberty of the former, in telling the truth, of which they have no longer any reason to be afraid.

⁴ *Surge tandem carnifex.*

We see by this, that Seneca wanted a quality essential in an orator; that is, to know how to keep within the bounds of truth and beauty, and to prune, without mercy, whatever is more than necessary to the perfection of the piece, according to that fine rule in Horace ^b, *Recideret omne quod ultra perfectum traheretur* ^c. Seneca was too much enamoured of his own genius; he could not prevail with himself to lose or sacrifice any of his productions; and often weakened the strength, and debased the greatness of his subjects, by little trifling thoughts.

III. Another thought of Seneca upon the scarcity of sincere friends.

^d We meet with another very beautiful thought in the same place, upon the subject of friendship. Seneca speaks of the crowd who make their court to great men.

^e *Ad quemcunque istorum veneris, says he, quorum salutatio urbem concutit, scito, etiamsi animadverteris obfessos ingenti frequentia vicos, et commeantium in urbemque partem catervis itinera compressa, tamen venire te in locum hominibus plenum, amicis vacuum. In spectatore amicus, non in atrio quaeritur. Illo recipiendus est, illic retinendus, et in sensus recondendus.*

It must be acknowledged, there is great beauty and vivacity in this thought and turn, *venire te in locum hominibus plenum, amicis vacuum*. After all that has been said of the bustle and noise in the city because of

^b Satyr. 10. lib. 1.

^c Si aliqua contempsisset. . . . Si non omnia sua amasset, si reum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur. Quint. 10. c. 1.

^d Senec. de benef. l. 6. c. 34.

^e If you visit any of those great men, to whom the whole city make their court; know, that tho' you find the streets besieged, and the roads barricaded by incredible numbers of people, who go backward and forward; yet you come into a place full of men and empty of friends. We must look for a friend in the heart, and not in the antichamber. It is there we must receive and keep him; 'tis there we must lodge him safely, as a deposit of inestimable value.

of the incredible concourse of citizens who hurry to visit the great, and fill their palaces: this antithesis is very fine, *in locum hominibus plenum, amicis vacuum*; into a place full of men, empty of friends: but to what end are the following words, *in pectore amicus, non in atrio quaritur*? A friend is to be sought in the heart, and not in the antichamber? I only see an antithesis here, and nothing further, and I confess I have not been able to understand it.

F. Bouhours has not forgot to tell us what judgment we are to form of Seneca. "Of all ingenious writers, says he, Seneca is the least capable of reducing his thoughts to the boundaries required by good sense. He would always please, and he is afraid that a thought, which is beautiful in itself should not strike, that he represents it in all its lights, and beautifies it with all the colours he can throw upon it: so that one may say of him, what his father said of an orator of his time: *By repeating the same thought, and turning it several ways, he spoils it: not being satisfied with once saying a thing well, he improves its merit quite away.*"

He cites a saying of Cardinal Palavicino, which is pretty much in the Italian taste, but is however judicious. "Seneca, says the Cardinal, perfumes his thoughts with amber and musk, which, at last affect the head; they are pleasing at first, but very offensive afterwards."

Another very celebrated author forms the same judgment of Seneca, and gives, in few words, excellent rules with regard to thoughts.

"There are, says he, two sorts of beauty in eloquence, of which we must endeavour to make youth sensible. The one consists in beautiful and just, but, at the same time, extraordinary and surprising thoughts. Lucian, Seneca, and Tacitus, are full of those beauties. The other, on the contrary

^f Habet hoc Montanus vitium, sententias suas repetendo contumpe-
rumpi: dum non est contentus unam rem semel bene dicere
efficit ne bene dixerit. Controver. 5. l. 9.

^g M. Nicole in his education of a prince, 2 part, n. 39, 40.

“ does not any way consist in uncommon thoughts, but in a certain natural air, in an easy, elegant and delicate simplicity, which does not force attention ; but presents common, yet lively and agreeable images ; and which knows so happily how to follow all the impulses of the mind, that it never fails of offering such objects to it on every subject, as may affect it ; and to express all the passions and emotions, which the thing it represents ought to produce in it. Terence and Virgil are famous for this sort of beauty ; from whence we may observe, that it is more difficult than the other, since these two authors are much the hardest to imitate.

“ If we have not the art of blending this natural and simple beauty with that of noble thoughts, the more we endeavour to excel in writing and speaking, the worse we shall probably succeed ; and the more genius we have, the more apt we shall be to fall into a vicious kind of eloquence. For hence it is we give into points and conceit, which is a very bad species of writing. And though the thoughts should be just and beautiful in themselves, yet they would tire and oppress the mind, if too numerous, and applied to subjects which do not require them. Seneca, who is extraordinary when we consider him separately or in parts, wears the mind, if we read much of him ; and I believe that if Quintilian had reason to say of him, that he is full of pleasing faults, *abundat dulcibus vitiis*, we might justly say of him, that he is full of beauties which are disagreeable by being too much crowded ; and because he seemed resolved to say nothing that was plain, but to turn every thing into point and conceit. There is no fault we must endeavour to make children, who have made some advances in study, more sensible of, than this, because none contributes more towards depriving us of the fruits of our studies, with regard to language and eloquence.”

^h The reading of Seneca may however be very beneficial to youth, when their taste and judgment begin to be formed by the study of Cicero. Seneca is an original, capable of giving wit to others, and of making invention easy to them. A great many passages may be borrowed from his treatise of clemency, and from that of the shortness of life, which will accustom youth to find thoughts of themselves. This study will likewise teach them to distinguish the good from the bad. But the master must direct them in it, and not leave them to themselves, lest they should mistake the very faults of Seneca for beauties; which are the more dangerous to them, as they are more conformable to the genius of their age, and have charms in them, as we before observed, capable of seducing the most judicious.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of the Choice of Words.

WE have seen by all the examples hitherto cited, how useful the choice of words is in representing thoughts and proofs to advantage, and giving a clear idea of their beauty and force. Expressions indeed give things a new grace, and communicate that lively colouring which is so well adapted to form rich paintings and speaking pictures: So that by the changing, and sometimes by the irregular placing of the words only, almost the whole beauty of a discourse shall disappear.

One would think, that the chief use a man should make of his reason should be, to attend only to the things which are said to him, without giving himself any trouble about the manner in which they are proposed. But we experience the contrary every day, and it is perhaps one of the effects of the corruption

^h Verum sic quoque jam robustis, et severiore genere firmatis, legendus, vel ideo, quod exercere potest utrinque iudicium. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

and degeneracy of our nature, that being immersed in sensible pleasures, we are scarce affected with any thing but what strikes and moves the senses; and that we seldom judge either of thoughts or of men, otherwise than by their dress and ornament.

Not that I think it a fault to prefer what is embellished to what is not so. We have a strong bias and inclination not only for what is good and true, but likewise for what is beautiful; and this attraction is derived to us from the Creator, who scarce presents any thing to our eyes that is not lovely and amiable. The viciousness in this is, that we are either more touched with outside and ornament, than truth; or are affected with embellishments only, without any regard to things themselves. But it is agreeable to the primary design of the Creator, that external beauty and agreeableness should be of service to set off and recommend what is otherwise good and true.

An orator is therefore under the absolute necessity of being particularly careful and studious of elocution; which may enable him to produce his thoughts in their full light; for without this, all his other qualifications, how great soever, would be of no use. This branch must be very essential to eloquence, since it received its name from it. ^k And indeed we find that elocution chiefly distinguishes the merit of an orator; forms the difference of styles, on which the success of an oration generally depends, and which, properly speaking, art teaches us; for the rest depends more on genius and nature.

We have treated elsewhere of the propriety and perspicuity of words; and we are now upon their

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ⁱ Eloqui, hoc est, omnia quae mente conceperis promere atque ad audientes perferre: sine quo supervacua sunt priora, si milia gladio condito, atque intra vaginam suam haerenti. Quintil. in Prooem. l. 2.

^k Hoc maxime docetur: hoc nullus nisi arte assequi potest: hoc maxime orator oratore praestantior: hoc genera ipsa dicendi alia aliis posteriora; ut appareat in hoc et vitium et virtutem esse dicendi. Ibid.

elegance and force. It is surprising that words, which are common to every one, and have no intrinsic or peculiar beauty, should acquire, in a moment, a lustre that alters them entirely, when managed with art, and applied to certain uses or occasions. *Ædificare*, i.e. *To build*, when spoke of a house, is a very plain word; but when the poet employs it to express the ornaments with which the women decked the different stages of their head-dresses:

¹ Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput.

It is like a diamond that sparkles with a strong light, Boileau has finely imitated Juvenal's thoughts and expression.

Et qu'une main savante, avec tant d'artifice,
Bâtit de ses cheveux l'élégant édifice.

We may indeed affirm, that words have no value but what is communicated to them, and the art of the workman gives them. As they are intended to express our thoughts, they ought to grow out of them^m; for good expressions are generally affixed to the things themselves, and follow them as the shadow does the body. It is an error to think we must always search for them out of the subject, as though they hid themselves from us, and we were obliged to employ a kind of violence in using them. ⁿ The most

¹ Juvenal. Sat. 7. v. 500.

^m Res et sententiae vi sua verba parient, quae semper satis ornata mihi quidem videri solent, si ejusmodi sunt ut ea res ipsa peperisse videatur. Cic. 2. de Orat. n. 146.

Rerum copia, verborum copiam gignit. Cic. 3. de Orat. n. 125. Cum de rebus grandioribus dicas, ipsae res verba rapiunt. Lib. 3. de fin. n. 19.

Verba erunt in officio—sic ut semper sensibus inhaerere videantur, atque ut umbra corpus sequi. Quintil. in Proem. l. 8.

Plerumque optima rebus cohaerent, et cernuntur suo lumine. At nos quaerimus illa, tanquam lateant semper, seque subducant.—Optima sunt minime accersita, et simplicibus atque ab ipsa veritate profectis similia. Ibid.

ⁿ Qui rationem loquendi primum cognoverit, tum lectione multa

most natural are the best. I suppose, as I observed elsewhere, that people have diligently studied the language they write in, that they have made a great collection of rich expressions from a close and serious commerce with good authors; but above all, that they have furnished themselves with all the knowledge requisite in an orator: then the diction will give them little trouble. It is with words in composing, as with servants in a well-regulated family; they don't wait till called for, they come of themselves, and are always ready when wanted. The only difficulty lies in chusing, and knowing how to employ them in their proper places.

This choice costs us more time and trouble in the beginning, we being then obliged to examine, weigh, and compare things; but it becomes afterwards so easy and natural, that the words offer themselves, and rise under the pen, almost without our thinking of them. A nice and exact care is required at first, but it ought to lessen as we improve. There are however some orators, who being always dissatisfied with themselves, and very ingenious in giving themselves pain, despise all the expressions which occur to them at first, though ever so useful, in order to search after the most beautiful, the

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multa et idonea copiosam sibi verborum supellestem compararit—ei res cum nominibus suis occurrent. Sed opus est studio praecedente, et acquisita facultate et quasi reposita. Ibid.

Onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plurimarum suavitate, copia, varietate. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 121.

Celeritatem dabit consuetudo. Paulatim res facilius se ostendent, verba respondebunt, compositio sequetur: cuncta denique, ut in familia bene instituta in officio erunt—sic ut non requisita respondere, sed ut semper sensibus inhaerere videantur. Quintil. l. 10. c. 3. et l. 8. in Proœm.

* Verba omnia, quae sunt cujusque generis, maxime illustria, sub acumen styli subeant et succedant necesse est. Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 151.

† Ista quaerendi, judicandi, comparandi anxietas, dum discimus adhibenda est, non cum dicimus.—Quibusdam tamen nullus finis calumniandi est, et cum singulis pene syllabis commorandi, qui, etiam cum optima sint reperta, quaerunt aliquid quod sit magis antiquum, remotum, inopinatum—i credulii quidam, et de ingenio suo pessime meriti, qui diligentiam putant facere sibi scribendi difficultatem. Quintil. in Proœm. l. 8.

brightest, and most uncommon; and who lose time in torturing themselves with wrangling with every word, and almost every syllable.

¶ But this is an unprofitable labour, a mistaken delicacy, which at last only extinguishes the fire of the imagination, and makes the orator unhappy! The art of speaking would be of no great value, did it always cost so much pains, or were we condemned all our lives to the tedious task of hunting after words, and of weighing and adjusting them. The orator, if he deserves the name, must be possessed of all the treasures of eloquence, and of the art of managing them; like the possessor of an estate, who disposes of it as he thinks fit.

There are several examples relating to the choice of words, in the article where I have treated of the elegance and delicacy of the Latin tongue; to which I will add a few more in this place.

Appian uses a comparison taken from hunting, to exhort the Romans to continue the siege of Veii in winter; telling them that the pleasure we find in it makes us forget the greatest fatigues, and carries us into the most steep, craggy places, in spite of the severity of the weather. ^r *Obsecro vos, venandi studium ac voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes sylvasque rapit: belli necessitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus, quam vel lusus ac voluptas elicere solet?* How strong is the word *rapit*! To have a just sense of it, we need only compare it with another expression which Seneca uses in a thought not unlike this. He speaks of merchants who undertake long and dangerous voyages by sea and land, through an insatiable thirst of gain. ^s *Alium mercandi præceptis cupiditas*
circa

^a Abominanda hæc infelicitas erat, quæ et cursum dicendi refrænat, et calorem cogitationis extinguit mora et dissidentia. Ibid.

Neque enim vis summa dicendi est admiratione digna, si infelix usque ad ultimum, sollicitudo persequitur, ac oratorem macerâ et coquit, ægre verba vertentem, et pendendis cogmentandisque eis intabescens. Nitidus ille, et sublimis, et locuples, circumfluentibus undique eloquentiæ copiis imperat. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

^c Liv. lib. 5. n. 5.

^d De brevitate vitæ, c. 2.

circa omnes terras, omnia maria, spe lucri ducit. The word *ducit* is too slow for so violent a passion as avarice: *præceptus cupiditas.*

Sallust condemns the fury of soldiers against the vanquished, and accounts for it thus: *Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientum animos fatigant: ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent.* I would only fix upon this word *fatigant*. Is it possible to give a shorter or more lively representation of the hard trials which most good people undergo in prosperity? It attacks them, pursues them incessantly, makes perpetual war against them, and does not leave them till it has despoiled them of their virtue; and if it cannot conquer them by force, it seems to hope at least that they will give up their arms through fatigue and weariness. *Secundæ res sapientum animos fatigant.*

This expression makes me call to mind another of Tacitus, which is full as emphatical. *An cum Tiberius, post tantam rerum experientiam, vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit, C. Casarem, &c.* which d'Ablancourt translates to this purpose; "If Tiberius, after such long experience, suffered himself to be corrupted by his good fortune, what must be come of Caligula? &c." This translation enervates the whole force of the thought, which consists in these two words, *convulsus*, and *vi dominationis*. *Convellere* signifies to tear away, to eradicate, to carry away by force, and to displace a thing by violence. There is in sovereign power a pomp, a pride and haughtiness which attack the best princes with a violence they cannot guard against; so that being torn from themselves, and their good inclinations, they are soon changed into other men. *Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus.*

The same author speaks of prosperity, in his histories, in the same sense with Sallust, but under another idea. *Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti. Secundæ res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant: quia miseriæ*

* Annal. l. 6. c. 48.

• Histor. l. 1. c. 13.

miseria tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Fidem, libertatem, amicitiam, præcipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis; sed alii per obsequium imminuent. Irrumpet adulatio, blanditiæ pessimum veri affectus venenum, sua cuique utilitas. This passage is taken from Galba's speech to Piso, on his adopting and making him his associate in the empire, which d'Ablancourt has translated to this purpose. "Fortune has hitherto been averse to you; she is now changing to your advantage. Be now careful to make yourself capable of supporting her favours as well as her frowns. For the incentives of prosperity are much more powerful than those of adversity; because we yield to the one and resist the other. Although you should preserve your virtue, yet all those near your person will lose theirs. Flattery will take the place of truth, and interest that of affection, to which they are poison and venom." Much might be said upon this translation, but that would be foreign to our present purpose. I would only observe, that it has not preserved the beauty of these words, *irrumperet adulatio*, which import, that whatever measures and precautions Piso might take to keep off flattery, she would however force herself a passage, and, in a manner, break through all the barriers he might oppose against her. The French does not sufficiently represent that idea; *Flattery will take the place of truth.*

Pliny the naturalist ascribes the decay and ruin of morals to the prodigious expences of Scaurus during his ædileship. He expresses this thought in a wonderful manner, by a very few words, which are highly emphatical. * *Cujus nescio an adilitas maxime prostraverit mores.* His ædileship completed the ruin of morals.

In all our good French writers, we meet with a multitude of expressions, either sprightly or emphatical; shining or beautiful.

That

* Lib. 36. c. 15.

* That man (Maccabeus) whom God had set over Israel, like a wall of brass, where the forces of Asia were so often shattered, after defeating powerful armies came every year, as though he had been the meanest of the Israelites, to repair with his triumphant hands the breaches which the enemy had made in the sanctuary.

We saw him, (M. de Turenne) in the famous battle of the Downs, force the weapons out of the hands of the mercenary troops, when they were going to fall on the vanquished with a brutal fury,

He won the hearts of those, who are generally kept within the limits of their duty by fear of punishment only, with the obligation of respect and friendship. . . . By what invisible chains did he thus lead the will?

How often did he make his greatest efforts, to tear off the fatal bandage which closed his eyes against truth?

We might observe in many of the above cited examples, that epithets contribute very much to the elegance and strength of an oration. They chiefly produce that effect, when they are figurative and metaphorical, according to Quintilian's observation.

Discamus spes effrenatas et animum in futura eminentem velut in vinculis habere. . . . ² *Vide quantum rerum per unam gulam transitarum permisceat luxuria, terrarum marisque vastatrix.* The same Seneca speaks thus in an excellent encomium upon the death of the wife of a provincial governor: ¹ *Loquax et ingeniosa in contumelias praefectorum provincia, in qua etiam qui vitaverunt culpam, non effugerunt infamiam, eam velut unicum sanctitatis exemplum suspexit.* Cicero says something like this of his brother. ^b *Quae cum honesta sint in his privatis nostris quotidianisque rationibus; in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia, divitiarum videantur necesse est.*

^c A discourse without epithets is languid, and seems almost without life or soul. However, we must not multiply

¹ M. Flechier.

² Sen. de tranq. anim.

³ Idem, epist. 95.

^a De cons. ad Helv. c. 17.

^b Ep. 1. ad Quint. frat. l. 1.

^c Talis est ratio hujusce virtutis, ut sine oppositis nuda sit et incompta.

multiply them too much. For, to use Quintilian's comparison, it is with epithets in a discourse as with servants in an army, who would be extremely burdensome, and of no other use but to embarrass it, if every such soldier had one; for then the number would be doubled, but not the strength.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Of the ORDER and DISPOSITION of WORDS.

IT must be owned, that the placing of words contributes very much to the beauty, and sometimes even to the strength of a discourse. ^d Nature has implanted a taste in man, which makes him sensible to harmony and number; and in order to introduce this kind of harmony and concert into languages, we need only consult nature, study the genius of those languages, and sound and interrogate, as it were, the ear, which ^e Cicero justly calls a proud and disdainful judge. Indeed, let a thought be ever so beautiful in itself, if the words which express it are ill placed, the delicacy of the ear is shocked; ^f a harsh and inharmonious

incompta oratio. Ne oneretur tamen multis. Nam sit longa et impedita, ut—eam judices similem agmini totidem lixas habentibus, quot milites quoque: in quo et numerus est duplex, nec duplum virium. Quintil. l. 8. c. 6.

^d *Natura ducimur ad modos. Quintil. l. 9. c. 4.*

Aures, vel animus aurium, nuncio naturalem quandam in se continet vocum omnium mentionem.—Animadversum est eadem natura admonente, esse quosdam certos cursus conclusionesque verborum. Orat. n. 177, 178.

^e *Graves sententiae inconditis verbis elatae offendunt aures quarum est judicium superbissimum. Orat. n. 150,*

Aurium sensus fastidiosissimus. Lib. 1. ad Heren. n. 32.

^f *Itaque et longiora et breviora judicat, et perfecta ac moderata semper expectat. Mutila sentit quaedam, et quasi decurtata, quibus tanquam debito fraudetur: productiora alia, quasi immoderatus excurrentia; quae magis etiam aspernantur aures. Orat. n. 177, 178.*

Optime de illa (compositione) judicant aures, quae et plenius sentiunt, et parum expleta desiderant, et fragorosis offenduntur, et lenibus mulcentur, et contortis excitantur, et stabilia probant, claudaprehendunt, redundantia et nimia fastidium. Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4.

harmonious composition grates it; whereas it is generally soothed with that which is soft and flowing. If the harmony be not strong, and the cadence too quick, the ear is sensible that something is wanting; and is not satisfied. But, on the contrary, if there is any thing heavy and superfluous, it cannot bear it. In a word, nothing can give it pleasure but a full and harmonious flow of words.

To prove that this taste is natural, we need only observe, ^g that it is common to the learned and unlearned; but with this difference, that ^h the former know the reasons, and the other judge by opinion only. Thus ⁱ Cicero cannot conceive how it is possible for a man not to be sensible to the harmony of an oration; and he does not judge of it so much by his own experience, as by what frequently happened to a whole assembly, who were so charmed with the close of harmonious periods, that they discovered their satisfaction and taste by universal acclamations.

It is then of the greatest importance that youth should be taught early to discover this order and disposition of words. ^k We must make them admire, how words, in the orator's hands, are like soft wax, which

* Unum est, et simplex aurium judicium, et promiscue ac communiter stultis ac sapientibus a natura datum. Cic. pro Font. 12.

^h Docti rationem componendi intelligant, indocti voluptatem. Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4.

ⁱ Quod qui non sentiunt, quas aures habeant, aut quid in his hominis simile sit, nescio. Meae quidem, &c. Quid dico meas? Conciones saepe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba cecidissent. Orator. n. 168.

^k Nihil est tam tenerum, neque tam flexibile, neque quod tam facile sequatur quocunque ducas, quam oratio.—Ea nos (verba) tum jacentia sustulimus e medio, sicut mollissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus et fingimus. Itaque tum graves sumus, tum subtiles, tum medium quiddam tenemus: sic institutam nostram sententiam sequitur orationis genus. Lib. 3. de orat. n. 176. 177.

Rebus accommodanda compositio, ut asperis asperos etiam numeros adhiberi oporteat, et cum dicente aequè audientem excipere. Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4.

Idque ad omnem rationem, et aurium voluptatem, et animorum motum mutatur et vertitur. Ibid.

which he handles and manages at pleasure, and to which he gives whatever form he thinks fit: how by the different structure he gives them, the oration proceeds sometimes with a majestic gravity, or runs with rapidity; sometimes charms and ravishes the auditor by the softness of its harmony, or fills him with horror by a sharp and harsh cadence, according to the subject he treats. We must make youth observe, that this ranging of expressions has a surprising effect, not only as it pleases, but makes an impression on people's minds. ¹ For, as Quintilian observes, it is scarce possible that an expression should reach the heart, when it begins with grating the ear, which is, as it were, its portico and avenue. On the other hand, a man is willing to hear what pleases him ^m, and this induces him to believe what is said to him.

As the quality and measure of words do not depend upon the orator, and that he finds them all cut out, as it were, to his hand; ⁿ his address consists in ranging them in such order, that their concurrence and union (without leaving any vacuity, or producing any harshness) may render the oration soft, flowing, and agreeable. And there are no expressions, however harsh they may appear in themselves, but may contribute to the harmony of a discourse, when judiciously disposed ^o as in a building, in which the most irregular and roughest stones have their proper places. Isocrates, properly speaking, was the first among the Greeks who made them sensible to this beauty of harmony and cadence; and we shall soon see that Cicero did the same service to the language of his country.

The

¹ Nihil intrare potest in affectum, quod in aure velut quodam vestibulo statim offendit. Ibid.

^m Voluptate ad fidem ducitur. Quintil.

ⁿ Collocationis est componere et frungere verba sic, ut neve asper eorum concursus, neve hiulus sit, sed quodammodo coagmentatus et laevis.—Haec est collocatio, quae junctam orationem efficit, quae cohaerentem, quae laevem, quae aequaliter fluentem. 3 de Orat. n. 171, 172.

^o Sicut in structura saxorum rudium, etiam ipsa enormitas invenit cui applicari, et in quo possit insistere. Quintil. l. 9. c. 4.

The rules which Cicero and Quintilian have given us upon this topic, as they observed the different feet to be employed in orations, may be of service to young people, provided a judicious choice is made from these. The observations of Sylvius, called *Progymnasmata*, which are at the end of the collection of phrases from Cicero, may likewise be of great use to them; but the best master they can study on this subject is Cicero himself. He was the first who perceived that the Latin tongue wanted a beauty which the ancient Romans were absolutely ignorant of, or neglected; and which, however, was capable of raising it to a much greater perfection. As he was extremely jealous of the honour of his country, he undertook, by embellishing the Latin tongue with sound, cadence, and harmony, to make, if possible, the language of his country equal to that of the Greeks, which has a very great advantage in this particular. It is surprising, how it was possible for him, in a few years, to carry the Latin, in this respect, to the highest perfection, which is not effected, generally speaking, without long experience, and advances gradually by slow improvements. It is Cicero then that youth must set before them in this, as well as in every thing else. They will meet with rich thoughts and beautiful expressions in the historians; but they must not therefore search for harmonious and periodical words in them. ¶ The stile of history, which must be easy, natural and flowing, is not suitable to those grave and harmonious numbers which the majesty of an oratorial discourse requires.

The easiest and surest way of making young people sensible of the beauty of ranging expressions, is to practise what Cicero himself did, in treating of this subject in his books *de oratore*; that is, to select some of the most harmonious and periodical passages in the books which are explained to them; and to throw them out of the order and form in which they lie.

Vol. II.

M

There

¶ *Historiae, quae currere debet ac ferri, minus conveniunt interstitentes clausulae.* Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4.

¶ There will still be the same thoughts and expressions, but not the same grace, nor the same force; and the more those passages shine in sense and diction, the more grating will they be when thus displaced; because the magnificence of the words will make this still the more remarkable. The ears of young people being formed after this manner, by an assiduous reading of Cicero, and accustomed to the soft and harmonious cadence of his periods, will become delicate, and difficult to be pleased; and, as he says of himself^r, their ear will discover perfectly well a full and harmonious period, and perceive also whether there is any defect or redundancy in it.

¶ Although there must be harmony in the whole body and texture of the period, and the harmony of which we are treating results from this union and concert of all the parts; 'tis allowed, however, that the effect is more evident in the close. The ear being carried away in the other parts of the period, by the continuity of words, like a flood, is not capable of forming a proper idea of the sounds, till the rapidity of utterance ceasing a little, gives it a kind of pause. And indeed it is here that the auditor's admiration, suspended till then by the charms of the discourse, breaks out on a sudden in cries and acclamations.

¶ The beginning likewise requires particular care, because the ear, from the particular attention natural to what is new, easily discovers its faults.

It

¶ Quod cuique visum erit vehementer, dulciter, speciose dictum, solvat et turbet: aberit omnis vis, jucunditas, decor.— Illud notasse satis habeo, quo pulchriora et sensu et elocutione dissolveris, hoc orationem magis deformem fore: quia negligentia collocationis ipsa verborum luce deprehenditur. Ibid.

¶ Meae quidem (aures) et perfecto completoque verborum ambitu gaudent, et curta sentiunt, nec amant redundantia. Orat. n. 168.

¶ In omni quidem corpore, totoque, ut ita dixerim, tractu numeris inserta est (compositio.) Magis tamen desideratur in clausulis, et apparet: Aures continuam vocem secutae, ductaeque velut prono decurrentis orationis flumine, tum magis judicant, cum ille impetus stetit, et intuendi tempus dedit. Haec est sedes orationis: hoc auditor expectat: hic laus omnis declamat. Quintil. l. 9. c. 4.

¶ Proximam clausulis diligentiam postulant initia: nam et ad haec intentus auditor est. Ibid.

It is therefore upon the beginning and end of the period, that the disquisition youth are to make should principally turn; nor must we omit to make them attend to the surprising variety with which Cicero has interspersed his numbers, in order to avoid the offensive uniformity of the same cadences, which tire and disgust the auditors: I except, however, that trivial close, *esse videatur*, which he was justly reproached to have affected, and with which he concludes a great number of his phrases. We find it above ten times in his oration *pro lege Manilia*.

There is another disposition or order of words more visible and studied, which may suit with pompous and ceremonious speeches; such as those of the demonstrative kind, "where the auditor, not being upon his guard against the surprises of art, is not afraid that snares are laid for his opinion; for then, so far from being disgusted at those harmonious and flowing cadences, he thinks himself obliged to the orator, for giving him, by their means, a grateful and innocent pleasure. But it is otherwise when grave and serious matters are handled, whose only view is to affect and instruct. The cadence must then be also something grave and serious; * and this charm of numbers prepared for the auditors, must be concealed, as it were, beneath the justness of the thoughts, and the beauty of the expressions, which may so ingross their attention, that they appear inattentive to the harmony and disposition.

EXAMPLES.

Every part of Cicero will convince our eyes, or rather ears, of the truth of what is now asserted.

M 2

Quod

* Cum is est auditor, qui non vereatur ne compositae orationis insidiis sua fides attentetur, gratiam quoque habet oratori, voluprati aurium servienti. Orat. n. 208.

* Sic minime animadvertetur delectationis aucupium, et quædrandæ orationis industria, quæ latebit eo magis, si et verborum et sententiarum ponderibus utemur. Nam qui audiunt, hæc duo animadvertunt, et jucunda sibi censent, verba dico, et sententias: eaque dum animis attentis admirantes excipiunt, fugit eos, et prætervolat numerus; qui tamen si abesset, illa ipsa delectarent. Ibid. n. 197.

* *Quod si è portu solventibus, ii, qui jam in portum ex alto invehuntur, præcipere summo studio solent et tempestatum rationem, et prædonum, et locorum, quod natura affert, ut eis faveamus, qui eadem pericula, quibus nos perfuncti sumus, ingrediuntur: quo tandem me animo esse oportet, prope jam ex magna jactatione terram videntem, in eum, cui video maximas reipublicæ tempestates esse subeundas?* Nothing can be smoother than this period: but were we to throw some of the words out of the order in which they stand, it would disguise the whole strangely.

† *Omnes urbanæ res, omnia hæc nostra præclara studia, et hæc forensis laus et industria, latent in tutela ac præsidio bellicæ virtutis. Simul atque increpuit suspicius tumultus, artes illico nostræ conticescunt.* This concluding cadence, which is a dichoreus, is extremely harmonious; and for that very reason, Cicero thinks it should not be too often used in orations; because affectation becomes vicious even in the best things.

‡ *Animadverti, judices, omnem accusatoris orationem in duas divisam esse partes.* According to the natural order, it should be, *in duas partes divisam esse.* But what a difference! *Rectum erat, sed durum et incompertum,* says Quintilian, in his observation on this disposition of the words.

§ *Quam spem cogitationum et consiliorum meorum cum graves communium temporum, tum varii nostri casus fefellerunt. Nam qui locus quietis et tranquillitatis plenissimus fore videbatur, in eo maxima molestiarum et turbulentissima tempestates extiterunt.* Is there any thing in music sweeter than these periods?

|| *Hæc Centuripina navis erat incredibili celeritate velis. . . . Evolarat jam è conspectu fere fugiens quadremis, cum etiam tunc ceteræ naves in suo loco moliebantur.* Here every thing is rapid; the choice of words as well as the disposition of them; and the choice of

* Pro Mur. n. 4.

† Ibid. n. 22.

‡ Pro Cluent. n. 1.

§ Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 2.

|| In Verr. 7. n. 87.

the very letters, most of which are liquid and smooth, *Incredibili celeritate velis*. The cadence at the beginning, *evolarat jam*, &c. is as swift as the ship itself; whereas that at the end, which consists wholly of one very long, heavy word, represents in a wonderful manner the efforts of an ill equipped fleet, *Moliebantur*.

^c *Respice celeritatem rapidissimi temporis: cogita brevitatē hujus spatii, per quod citatissimi currinus*. It is plain that Seneca endeavoured in this place to describe the rapidity of time, by that of words and letters.

^d *Servius agit rem militarem: insectatur totam hanc legationem: assiduitatis, et operarum harum quotidianarum putat esse consulatum*. One cannot doubt but Cicero purposely affected to employ three pretty long genitives plural, and the same termination in this place; (which would have a very ill effect in any other) the more to degrade the profession which his adversary undertook to magnify. He seems to have copied this passage from Terence. ^e *O faciem pulchram! Deleo omnes dehinc ex animo mulieres. Cadet quotidianarum harum formarum*.

The same orator endeavoured to prove that Milo did not leave Rome with an intention to attack Clodius; he gives the following description of his equipage: *Cum hic insidiator, qui iter illud ad cadem faciendam apparasset, cum uxore veheretur in rheda, perculatus, vulgi magno impedimento, ac muliebri et dedicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu*. What man, who has ever so little ear, but is sensible on the bare reading of this passage, that the orator affected to employ in this place, long words, consisting of many syllables; and that he crowded them one upon another, the better to express the multitude of men and women attendants, who were more likely to inumber than be of service in a combat?

A second method of order or disposition.

The order I have hitherto been treating of, lias no other end, properly speaking, but to please the

M 3

car,

Epist. 99.

^a Pro Mur. n. 21.

^e Eunuch act. 2. sc. 3.

ear, and to make the oration more harmonious. There is another kind, by which the orator is more intent upon giving strength than grace and beauty to his discourse. This consists in disposing certain expressions in such a manner, that the oration may grow still more vigorous as it goes on; and that the last may have always the most energy, and always add something to those which preceded them. Sometimes, certain words are rejected in the conclusion, which have a particular emphasis, and give the greatest strength to a thought or description; in order that being separated, as it were, from the rest, and set in a stronger light, they may strike forcibly on the mind. This kind of order is as remarkable as the former, and deserves the utmost attention of the master. I will give two or three examples of this kind extracted from Cicero, and add Quintilian's reflections, which alone would be sufficient to form our taste, and teach us to understand and explain authors.

1. *f Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in Hippia nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie.* Quintilian weighs every word in this description. *Quid fauces et latera,* says he, *ad ebrietatem?* *Minime sunt otiosa. Nam respicientes ad hac possumus aestimare quantum ille vini in Hippia nuptiis exhausserit, quod ferre et coquere non posset illa gladiatoria corporis firmitate.*

We are sensible enough of the effect which is produced by this disposition of the words, *faucibus, lateribus, gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate*, which rise to the end.

We should not perhaps have taken so much notice of the reason which induced Cicero to repeat the word *postridie*, in the end, if Quintilian had not made us attentive to it. *§ Sape est vehemens aliquis sensus in verbo quod si in media parte sententia latet, transiri intentione, et obscurari circumjacentibus*

f Philip. 2. n. 63.

§ Quint. l. 9. c. 4.

solet, in clausula positum assignatur auditori et infingitur, quale est illud Ciceronis : Ut tibi necesse esset in conspectu populi Romani vomere postridie. Transfer hoc ultimum, minus valebit. Nam totius ductus hic est quasi mucro, ut per se fœdæ vomendi necessitati, jam nihil ultra expectantibus, hanc quoque adjiceret de formitatem, ut cibus teneri non posset postridie.

But let us hear Cicero explain his own thought, and plainly point out to us the whole extent of it ^h. *O rem non modo visu fœdam, sed etiam auditu ! Si hoc tibi inter cœnam, in tuis immanibus illis poculis accidisset, quis non turpe duceret ? In cœtu vero populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis, vinum redolentibus, gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit.* It is obvious, that the last expressions still improve upon the preceding ones ⁱ. *Singula incrementum habent. Per se deforme, vel non in cœtu vomere : in cœtu etiam non populi : populi etiam non Romani : vel si nullum negotium ageret, vel si non publicum, vel si non magister equitum. Sed alius divideret hæc, et circa singulos gradus moraretur : hic in sublime etiam currit, et ad summum pervenit non nixu, sed impetu.* This is a beautiful model of explanation for masters.

But how beautiful soever the Roman orator's description of Anthony's vomiting may be, and whatever precaution he may take to advertise us first of the effect it must produce : *O rem non modo visu fœdam, sed etiam auditu ;* I do not believe our language, which is so nice and delicate with regard to decency, could bear this detail of circumstances which disgusts and shocks the imagination, and would never bear these words, *vomere, ructare, frustis esculentis* ^k. Here is an opportunity of making youth

^h Philip. 2. n. 63.

ⁱ Quint. l. 8. c. 4.

^k Perhaps, the custom of retching voluntarily after meals, (a practice very common in that age) made these expressions not so distasteful,

youth observe the difference in the genius of languages, and the indisputable advantage which ours has in this respect, over the Greek and Latin.

2.¹ *Stetit soleatus prator populi Romani cum pallio tunicaque talari muliercula nixus in littore.* These last words, *in littore*, placed in the close, add a prodigious strength to Cicero's thought, which I will explain in another place, where I endeavour to point out the beauty of this description, and relate Quintilian's admirable exposition of the passage.

3.^m *Aderat janitor carceris, carnifex pratoris, mors terrorque sociorum et civium Romanorum, licitor Sextius.* Whoever should put *licitor Sextius* in the beginning, would spoil all: the dreadful apparatus of this executioner must go before him. Whoever should throw the members of this period into another order, would destroy all its beautyⁿ, which, according to the rules of rhetoric and good sense, must grow more emphatic as it proceeds. Nevertheless, this rule here complies with the delicacy of the ear, which would have been offended had the words been placed thus, *terror morsque sociorum*, according to their natural order, *death* making a stronger impression than *terror*.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Of FIGURES.

FIGURES of rhetoric are certain turns and modes of expression which differ a little from the common and plain way of speaking; and are used to give more grace and force to the discourse. They consist either in the words or the thoughts. I comprise in the former what the rhetoricians call tropes, though there may be some difference in them.

It

¹ In Verrem, 7. n. 83.

^m Ibid. n. 157.

ⁿ Crescere solet oratio verbis omnibus altius atque altius insurgentibus. Quint. l. 8. c. 4.

It is of great importance to make youth observe, in reading good authors, the use which true eloquence makes of figures; the assistance it draws from them, not only to please, but to persuade and move the affections; and that without them, expression is weak, and falls into a kind of monotony, and is almost like a body without a soul. Quintilian gives us a just idea of them by a very natural comparison °. A statue, says he, quite uniform and of a piece from top to bottom, with the head strait upon the shoulders, the arms hanging down, and the feet joined together, would have no gracefulness, and would seem to be without motion and lifeless. It is the different attitudes of the feet, the hands, the countenance and head, which being varied an infinite number of ways, according to the diversity of subjects, communicate a sort of action and motion to the works of art, and give them, as it were, life and soul.

Figures of Words.

¶ The metaphor is a figure which substitutes the figurative terms it borrows from other subjects, as it were by a kind of exchange, in the room of proper words which are either wanting, or have not energy enough. Thus *gemma* was called the bud of the vine, there being no proper word to express it: *inensus ira, inflammatus furore*, were used instead of *iratus*,

° *Recti corporis vel minima gratia est. Neque enim adversa sit facies, et demissa brachia, et juncti pedes, et à summis ad ima rigens opus. Flexus ille, et ut sic dixerim motus, datum quendam efficit. Ideo nec ad unum modum formatae manus, et in vultu mille species. . . . Quam quidem gratiam et delectationem afferunt figurae, quaeque in sensibus, quaeque in verbis sunt. Quint. l. 2. c. 14.*

¶ Tertius ille modus transferendi verbi late patet, quem necessitas genuit inopiâ coacta primò et angustiis, post autem delectatio jucunditasque celebravit. Nam ut vestis frigoris depellendi causa reperta primo, post adhiberi coepta est ad ornatum etiam corporis et dignitatem: sic verbi translatio instituta est inopiae causa, frequentata delectationis. . . . Ergo hae translationes quasi mutationes sunt, cum, quod non habeas, aliunde sumas. Illae paulo audaciores, quae non inopiam indicant, sed orationi splendoris aliquid accersunt. 3. de Orat. n. 155, 156.

iratus, furens, in order to paint the effect of those passions the better. We see by this, that what was at first invented through necessity, from the defect or want of proper words, has since contributed towards embellishing speech; much after the same manner that clothes were at first employed to cover the body, and defend it against the cold, and served afterwards to adorn it 9. Every metaphor therefore must either find a void in the place it is to fill up, or, at least, (in case it banishes a proper word) must have more force than the word to which it is substituted.

This is one of the figures that gives most ornament, strength, and grandeur to discourse; and the reader may have observed in the several passages I have cited, that the most exquisite expressions are generally metaphorical, and derive all their merit from that figure 1. Indeed, it has the peculiar advantage, according to Quintilian's observation, to shine from its own light in the most celebrated pieces, and to distinguish itself most in them: it enriches a language, in some measure, by an infinity of expressions, by substituting the figurative in the room of the simple or plain; it throws a great variety into the stile; it raises and aggrandizes the most minute and common things; 5 it gives us great pleasure by the ingenious boldness, with which it strikes out in quest of foreign expressions, instead of the natural ones which are at hand; it deceives the mind agreeably, by shewing it one thing, and meaning another. In fine, it gives a body, if we may so say, to the most spirited things, and makes

1 Metaphora aut vacantem occupare locum debet; aut, si in alienum venit, plus valere eo quod expellit. Quint. l. 8. c. 6.

5 Ita jucunda atque nitida, ut in oratione quamlibet clara, proprio tamen lumine eluceat. Quint. l. 8. c. 6.

6 In suorum verborum maxima copia, tamen homines aliena multo magis, si sunt ratione translata, delectant. Id accidere credo, vel quod ingenii specimen est quoddam, transilire ante pedes posita, et alia longe repetita sumere: vel quod is, qui audit, aliò ducitur cogitatione, neque tamen aberrat, quae maxima est delectatio. . . . vel quod omnis translatio, quae quidem sumpta ratione est, ad sensus ipsos admoveatur, maxime oculorum, qui est sensus acerrimus. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 159, 160.

makes them almost the objects of hearing and sight by the sensible images it delineates to the imagination.

In order to give an idea of the force of metaphors, great care must be taken to begin always with explaining the plain and natural sense, upon which the figurative is founded, and without which the latter could not be well understood.

The surest and likewise the easiest way to represent the beauty of a metaphor, and, in general, to explain the beautiful passages in authors with justness, is to substitute natural expressions instead of the figurative, and to divest a very bright phrase of all its ornaments, by reducing it to a simple proposition. This was Cicero's method; and what better method can we follow? He explains the force and energy of a metaphorical expression in these verses of an ancient poet.

Vive, Ulysses, dum licet:

Oculis postremum lumen radiatum rape.

He performs it thus: *† Non dixit cape, non pete; haberet enim moram sperantis diutius esse sese victurum: sed rape. Hoc verbum est ad id aptatum, quod ante dixerat, dum licet.* Horace uses the same thought.

‡ Dona præsentis cape lætus horæ.

An able interpreter asserts, that we must read *rape* instead of *cape*. I doubt whether he be in the right; for the man portrayed by Horace, is one who is free from all care and uneasiness; and by flattering himself with the hopes of a long life, enjoys peaceably the pleasures which each day offers; and the word *cape* agrees very well with such a condition; whereas, in the antient poet, Ulysses is exhorted to lay hold of the present moments, lest they should escape him, and he be deprived of them by a sudden and unexpected death: *Postremum lumen*

† Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 162.

‡ Ode 8. l. 3.

men radiatum rape. Cicero employed a word like this full as gracefully: "*Quo quisque est solertior et ingeniosior, hæc docet iracundius et laboriosius. Quod enim ipse celeriter arripuit? id cum tarde percipi videt, discruciat.*" It is enough to observe, that he does not say, *facile didicit*, but *celeriter arripuit*; the difference is very obvious.

When the metaphor is continued, and does not consist in one word, it is called an *allegory*. *Equidem cæteras tempestates et procellas in illis duntaxat fluctibus concionum semper Miloni putavi esse subeundas.* He might have said plainly, *Equidem multa pericula in populi concionibus semper Miloni putavi esse subeunda.*

* Remember the beginning and progress of the war, which, though but a spark in the beginning, now sets all Europe in a flame.

Those clouds which arise from dislike or suspicion, never appeared in his serene countenance.

His virtues made him known to the public, and produced that first flower of reputation which spreads an odour y more agreeable than perfumes, over every other part of a glorious life.

z When we use this figure, we must always observe to continue the simile, and not fall abruptly from one image to another; nor, for example, conclude with a conflagration, after we began with a storm. Horace is charged with that error in this line:

Et malè tornatos incudi reddere versus;

where he joins two ideas widely different, the turning wheel and the anvil. But some interpreters excuse him. I know not whether Cicero may not be charged

* Pro Quint. Rose n. 31.

* M. Flechier.

y Melius est nomen bonum, quam unguenta pretiosa. Ecclesi. vii. 2.

z Id imprimis est custodiendum, ut quo ex genere coeperis translationis, hoc desinas. Multi enim, cum initium à tempestate sumpserunt, incendio aut ruina finiunt: quæ est inconsequentia rerum foedissima. Quint. 1. 8. c. 6.

charged with the same fault in this passage of the second book. *⁊ Ut cum in sole ambulem, etiamsi ob aliam causam ambulem, fieri tamen natura ut colorer: sic, cum istos libros ad Misenum studiosius legerim, sentio orationem meam illorum quasi-cantu colorari.* How can we reconcile these two words, *cantu* and *colorari*? and what relation can there be between *cantus* and a piece of writing?

The *periphrasis* or *circumlocution*. This figure is sometimes absolutely necessary, as when we speak of things which decency will not allow us to express in their own names; *⁊ ad requisita naturæ.* 'Tis often used for ornament only, which is very common with poets; and sometimes to express a thing the more magnificently, which would otherwise appear very low and mean; or to cover or soften the harshness of some propositions which would be shocking, if shewn in a naked and simple dress.

1. Of ornament.

ⁱ The king, in order to give an immortal testimony of his esteem and friendship for that great general (M. de Turenne) gives an illustrious place to his renowned ashes, among those lords of the earth, who still preserve, in the magnificence of their tombs, an image of that of their thrones; instead of saying simply, gives his ashes a place in the tombs of the kings.

ᵇ C'est-là ce qui l'emporte aux lieux où nait l'aurore, Où le Perse est brûlé de l'astre qu'il adore.

Englified.

" 'Tis this transports him to far distant climes,
 " Where gay Aurora rises, where the Persian
 " Is scorched by the bright planet he adores."

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2. 70

ⁱ Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 60.

⁲ Sallust.

ⁱ Mascaron.

ᵇ Despr.

2. To heighten low and common thoughts.

c The eagle had already winged to the mountains to save herself, whose bold and rapid flight had at first terrified our provinces; that is, the German army. Those brazen thunderbolts, which hell invented for the destruction of men, thundred on all sides; that is, the cannon.

3. To soften harsh expressions.

Cicero, finding himself obliged, in his defence of Milo, to acknowledge that his slaves had killed Clodius, does not say, *interfecerunt, jugularunt Clodium*; but, by making use of a circumlocution, he conceals the horror of this murder under an idea which could not offend the judges, but seemed rather to engage them: d *Fecerunt id servi Milonis (dicam enim non derivandi criminis causa, sed ut factum est) neque imperante, neque sciente, neque praesente domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset.*

When Vibius Virius exhorted the senators of Capua to poison themselves, to prevent their falling alive into the hands of the Romans, he describes, by an elegant periphrasis, the misfortunes from which this draught would deliver them; and by this figure conceals from them the horror of death, instead of saying, the poison would procure them a sudden one. e *Satiatis vino ciboque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit, circumferetur. Ea potio corpus ab cruciatu, animum à contumeliis, oculos, aures, à videndis audiendisque omnibus acerbis indignisque quæ manent victos, vindicabit.*

Though Manlius knew very well how odious the bare name of a king was to the Romans, and how likely to spirit them up to rebellion, he endeavoured nevertheless to prevail with them to give him that title. He did it very dextrously, by contenting himself

* Flechier.

* Pro M l. n. 29.

* Liv. lib. 26. n. 13.

himself with the title of protector; but insinuating, at the same time, that that of king, which he was very careful not to name, would enable him to do them greater service. *f Ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea et fides nomen induit. Vos, si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore ad obtinenda ea quæ vultis.*

Some have justly taken notice of a certain turns, which the ancients employed to soften harsh and shocking propositions. When Themistocles saw Xerxes approaching with a formidable army, he advised the Athenians to quit their city; but he did it in the softest terms, and exhorted them to commit it to the care of the gods. *Ut urbem apud deos deponerent; quia durum erat dicere, ut relinquerent.* Another was of opinion, they should melt down the golden statues raised to *Victory*, to answer the exigencies of war. He used a turn of expression, and told them it was necessary to make use of victories. *Et qui victorias aureas in usum belli conflare volebat, ita declinavit, victoriis utendum esse.*

Repetition is a pretty common figure, which has different names, because there are various kinds of it. 'Tis very proper to express lively and violent passions, such as anger and grief for example, which are strongly employed on the same object, and see no other; and therefore often repeat the terms, which represent it. Thus Virgil paints Orpheus's grief after the death of Eurydice.

*h TE dulcis conjux: TE solo in littore secum
TE veniente die, TE decedente canebat.*

i Pliny the younger uses the same figure in bewailing the death of Virginius, who had been his tutor,
N 2 and

^f Liv. lib. 6. n. 18.

^h Celebrata apud Graecos schemata, per quae res asperas mollius significant. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

ⁱ Lib. 4. Georg. ver. 465.

ⁱ Lib. 2. ep. 1.

and whom he considered as his father. *Volui tibi multa alia scribere, sed totus animus in hac una contemplatione defixus est. Virginium cogito, Virginium video, Virginium jam vanis imaginibus, recentibus tamen, audio, alloquor, teneo.*

^k Cicero furnishes us with a prodigious number of examples. *Bona, miserum me! (consumptis enim lacrymis tamen infixus animo haeret dolor) bona inquam, Cn. Pompeii acerbissima voci subjecta praconis. . . Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. . .* ^m *Cadebatur virgis in medio foro Messanae civis Romanus, iudices. . . Cum ille imploraret sapius usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux, inquam, infelici et arumneso, qui nunquam istam potestatem viderat, comparabatur.*

This figure is likewise vastly proper for insisting strongly on any proof, or any truth. ⁿ The elder Pliny would make us sensible of the folly of men, who give themselves so much trouble to secure an establishment in this world; and often take arms against one another, to extend a little the boundaries of their dominions. After representing the whole earth as a small point, and almost indivisible in comparison of the universe; 'tis here, says he, we are endeavouring to establish and enrich ourselves; 'tis here we would govern and be sovereigns; 'tis this that agitates mankind with frequent violence: This is the object of our ambition, the subject of our disputes, the cause of so many bloody wars, even among fellow-citizens and brothers. *Hæc est materia gloriæ nostræ, hæc sedes: hic honores gerimus, hic exercemus imperia, hic opes cupimus, hic tumultuatur humanum genus: hic instauramus bella etiam civilia, mutuisque cædibus laxiorem facimus terram.* All the vivacity of this passage consists in the repetition, which seems in every member or part to exhibit this little spot of earth, for which men torment themselves so far, as to fight and kill

^k 2. Philip. n. 64.

^l 1. Catil. n. 1.

^m 7. Verr. n. 161.

ⁿ Lib. 2. c. 58.

kill one another, in order to get some little portion of it ; and at last, what share have they of it after death ? *Quota terrarum parte gaudeat ? vel, cum ad mensuram suæ avaritiæ propagaverit, quam tandem portionem ejus defunctus obtineat !*

° Rompez, rompez tout pacte avec l'impïeté---
 Daigne, daigne, mon Dieu, sur Mathan et sur elle
 Répandre cet esprit d'imprudence et d'erreur,
 De la chute des Rois funeste avant-coureur---
 Dieu des Juifs, tu l'emportes !---
 David, David triomphe. Achab seul est détruit----

Englished.

“ Your leagues with impious men dissolve, dis-
 solve—
 “ Deign, deign, my God, on Mathan and on her
 “ To shed the spirit of imprudent error,
 “ Fatal forerunner of the fall of Kings —
 “ God of the Jews, 'tis thou who dost prevail !
 “ Great David triumphs. Ahab only, dies—

° L'argent, l'argent, dit-on : sans lui tout est stérile..
 La vertu sans l'argent n'est qu'un meuble inutile.
 L'argent en honnête homme érige un scelerat.
 L'argent seul au palais peut faire un magistrat..

“ 'Tis money, money : this alone is merit.
 “ Without it, virtue is an uselefs toy.
 “ Money proclaims the knave a man of honour..
 “ Money, alone, can make a dunce a judge.

° Quel carnage de toutes parts !
 On égorge à la fois les enfans, les vieillards ;
 Et la sœur, et le frere ;
 Et la fille, et la mere ;
 Le fils dans les bras de son pere..

N. 3

Englished..

• Racine.

• Despreaux

• Racine.

Englified.

What slaughter's all around us !
 The murdering sword kills antient men and children,
 The sister and the brother,
 The daughter and the mother ;
 The son too, clasp'd in his fond father's arms.

To take away the repetition from all these passages, is in reality to divest them of all their beauty, to weaken all their strength, and deprive the passions of the language natural to them.

The Antithesis, Distribution, and such like figures.

Antitheses, when artfully employed, says father Bouhours, are extremely pleasing in works of genius. They have pretty near the same effect in these, that lights and shadows have in painting, when the painter has the art of distributing them judiciously ; or that the trebles and basses have in music which an able master knows how to blend together. ^r *Vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia.*---- ^s *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit*---- ^t *Christian Generals must be tender and charitable even when their hands are bloody ; and inwardly adore the Creator, when they find themselves reduced to the melancholy necessity of destroying his creatures.*

There are other figures which consist chiefly in a certain disposition and relation between words, which being disposed with art, propriety, and symmetry, as it were, in a particular order, correspond with one another ; and sooth the ear and mind agreeably, by this kind of regular and studied harmony.

^v Cicero did not neglect that ornament of speech, which some of the ancients, as Isocrates, were vastly fond of ; and he has shewed the use we ought to make

^r Pro Cluent. n. 15.^s Pro Mur. n. 76.^t Flechier.

^v Delectatus est his etiam M. Tullius ; verum et modum adhibuit non ingratae, nisi copia redundet, voluptati ; et rem aequi levem, sententiarum pondere implevit. Quint. l. 9. c. 12.

make of these figures, by employing them seldom and with moderation; and being always careful to heighten them, by the force and justness of the thoughts, without which they would have very little merit.

^u *Est enim hæc, judices, non scripta, sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus: ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, si in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis----* ^x *Et sine invidia culpa plectatur, et sine culpa invidia ponatur.*

^y Seneca is full of these figures, *Magnus est ille qui sicilibus sic utitur, quemadmodum argento: nec ille minor est, qui sic argento utitur quemadmodum sicilibus. Infirmi animi est, pati non posse divitias.----*

^z *Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras, tam abstinerenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religiose quam publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est.*

^a *A man great in adversity by his courage, and in good fortune by his modesty, in difficulties by his prudence, in danger by his valour, and in religion by his piety.*

He only changed virtues, when fortune changed her countenance; happy without pride, unhappy with dignity.

In his youth he had all the prudence of advanced age, and in advanced age all the vigour of youth.

^b *We easily imagine to ourselves the ardour and perseverance with which a man of genius applies himself to any study which is his chief pleasure; and a man of virtue who makes it an essential duty.*

He possesseth that innocence and simplicity of manners, which we generally preserve when we converse less with men than with books; and he had nothing of that severity

^u Pro Mil. n. 10.

^x Pro Cluent. n. 5.

^y Senec. Ep. 5.

^z De brev. vitæ, c. 18.

^a Fléchier.

^b Fonten.

city or savage pride with which the commerce of books, without that of men, is too apt to inspire.

^c One alone is smitten, and all are delivered. God smites his innocent Son for the sake of guilty men; and pardons guilty men for the sake of his innocent Son.

All these thoughts are very just and beautiful in themselves; but it must be owned, that the turn and manner in which they are expressed, make them much more graceful. In order to make us more sensible of this, we need only reduce them to a plain and vulgar way of speaking. This I will endeavour to display in the two beautiful passages of Cicero, where the disposition of words, of which we are speaking, appears in a peculiar manner.

When that great orator, pleading for Ligarius, had told Cæsar, that princes resemble the gods in nothing more, than in doing good to men; he might have barely said, that his fortune and kind disposition procured him that glorious advantage: this is the foundation of the thought. But Cicero expresses it in a much more noble and elegant manner, by observing separately, by a kind of distribution, what he owes to fortune, and what should be ascribed to his natural inclination. The one gives him the power of doing good, the other the will; and it is in this, that the greatness of his fortune and the excellency of his good nature, consist. ^d *Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius quam ut velis conservare quam plurimos.* All the words here correspond with a surprising exactness. *Fortuna, natura: majus, melius: possis, velis.* Is it possible to say more in fewer words, or with more beauty?

The elogium of Roscius the comedian is in the same taste. ^e *Etenim cum artifex ejusmodi sit (Q. Roscius) ut solus dignus videatur esse qui scenam introat; tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus videatur dignus, qui eò non accedat.* Cicero makes a noble encomium upon the same Roscius, in another place, which may like-

^c Boëtiet.

^d Pro Lig. n. 38.

^e Pro Quint. Rosc. n. 78.

likewise teach us how the same thought may be turned different ways. ^f *Qui medius fidius (audacter dico) plus fidei quam artis, plus veritatis quam discipline possidet in se : quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam histrionem esse arbitratur : qui ita dignissimus est scena propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentiam.* This double encomium is reduced to this, that Roscius has more of the honest man than the excellent comedian. In how many shapes is this thought represented to us ? Can we imagine any thing has more delicacy than the first turn which Cicero gives it ? “ Roscius is so excellent an actor, that he alone seems worthy of mounting the stage ; but, on the other hand, he is a man of so much virtue, that he alone seems worthy of never appearing upon it.” The second encomium is as delicate as the former. The last member would perhaps have been more graceful, if a word that ends like *abstinentiam*, had been substituted instead of *artificium*. For one of the principal beauties of the figures we are here treating of, and which consist in a studied and measured order, is, that the words should not only answer one another in sense, but likewise in sound and cadence. *Ita dignissimus est scena propter artis peritiam, ut dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentiam.* But Cicero chose to renounce that minute elegance, rather than enervate the beauty of the sense, by an expression not so proper ; and he gives us an opportunity of adding in this place some reflections of Quintilian, on the use that is to be made of such figures.

g Since they consist wholly in certain turns, and a certain disposition of words ; and that these must be employed only to express the thoughts, it would be manifestly absurd to apply ourselves entirely to those

^f Pro Quint. Rosc. com. n. 17.

^g Sunt qui neglecto rerum pondere et viribus sententiarum, si vel inania verba in hos modos depravarint, summos se judicent artifices, ideoque non desinant eas necere : quas sine sententia sectari tam est ridiculum, quam quaerere habitum gestumque sine corpore. Quint. l. 9. c. 3.

Sed ne hae quidem deservandae sunt nimis. Ibid.

those turns and to that disposition of words, and at the same time neglect the very foundation both of thoughts and of things. But how just soever we may suppose these figures to be, they must however be used sparingly; for the more artful and studied they appear, the more evident is the affectation, and consequently the more faulty. ^b To conclude, the nature of the things we treat of must be susceptible of this kind of ornaments. For when it is proposed, for instance, to affect and melt the auditors, to terrify them by a view of the evils which threaten them, to raise a just indignation in them against vice, to employ earnest entreaties; would not an orator be ridiculous, should he attempt to effect this by regular periods, antitheses, and such like figures, which are proper only to distinguish the passions, and to expose the vanity of an orator, solely intent upon himself, and the care of displaying his wit, at a time when he should have no thoughts but to draw tears from his auditors, and fill them with the sentiments of fear, anger or grief, necessary to his purpose.

Figures of Allusion.

I must not conclude this article, which relates to the figures of words, without saying something of those that consist in an affected resemblance, and a kind of a play of words. *Amari jucundum est, si curetur ne quid insit amari. Avium dulcedo ad avium ducit. Ex oratore orator factus.* ⁱ The bare name of Verres, which in Latin signifies a boar, gave rise to a great many allusions. *Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore: quorum alii, ut audistis, negabant mirandum esse, jus tam nequam esse Verrinum: alii etiam frigidiores erant, sed quia stoma-*
mach-

^b Sciendum imprimis quid quisque in orando postulet locus: quid persona, quid tempus—Ubi enim atrocitate, invidia, miseratione pugnandum est, quis ferat contra-postis, et pariter cadentibus, et consimilibus, irascentem, flentem, rogantem: cum in his rebus cura verborum derogat affectibus fidem, et ubicumque ars ostentatur, veritas abesse videatur. Ibid.

ⁱ Ver. 3. n. 2.

machabantur, ridiculi videbantur esse, cum sacerdotem execrabantur, qui Verrem tam nequam reliquisset: (the Prætor of Sicily whom Verres succeeded was called *Sacerdos*.) *Quæ ego non commemorarem (neque enim persacete dicta, neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi, &c.* ^k *Ex nomine istius quid in provincia facturum esset perridiculi homines augurabantur . . . ad everrendam provinciam venerat.* ^l *Quod unquam, iudices, hujusmodi everriculum ulla in provincia fuit?* At the same time that Cicero mentions these puns, he informs us how flat and puerile he found them; by which he teaches youth what judgment they are to form of them, and warns against a vicious taste, which young people are but too apt to give into, who imagine that there is some wit in this kind of figures.

But we must not however condemn allusions in general, some being really ingenious, and give a grace to a discourse; and they must appear such, when they are judicious, and founded on a solid thought, and a natural resemblance. Cicero had related the equitable and disinterested conduct of Verres in a certain affair; and adds the following reflection. ^m *Est adhuc, id quod vos omnes admirari video, non Verres, sed Q. Mucius. Quid enim facere potuit elegantius ad hominum existimationem? æquius ad levandam mulieris calamitatem? vehementius ad quæstoris libidinem coercendam? Summe hæc omnia mihi videntur esse laudanda. Sed repente è vestigio ex homine, tanquam aliquo Circeo poculo, factus est Verres, Redit ad se, ad mores suos. Nam ex illa pecunia magnam partem ad se vertit: mulieri reddit quantulum visum est.* Methinks this allusion, which is founded on what fiction relates of Circe, who by certain draughts changed men into boars or swine, (which Verres signifies in Latin) is happily and very naturally used in this place.

ⁿ It appeared by Cicero's examination of the journals of a certain trader in Sicily, that the last five letters of
this

^k Verr. 4. n. 18. & 19.

^l Verr. 6. n. 53.

^m Verr. 1. n. 57.

ⁿ Verr. 4. n. 186, &c.

this word *Verrutius*, which were frequently mentioned in those journals, were always obliterated, and that the four first only remained, *Verr.* This was a fictitious name under which Verres concealed himself, to carry on an abominable usury. Cicero produced those journals on the trial; ^o *ut omnes mortales, says he, istius avaritiæ non jam vestigia, sed ipsa cubilia videre possint. p Videtis Verrutium? videtis primas literas integras? videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam Verris, tanquam in luto, demersam esse in litura?* Can any one condemn such a play of words, especially on an occasion where the orator thought it was necessary to divert the judges, and at the same time intended to make Verres ridiculous and contemptible?

Sometimes the resemblance between words, or the bare changing a preposition, or the same word used in various significations, produces a kind of beauty not to be despised. ^q *Hanc reipublicæ pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse . . .* ^r *non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur. . . .* ^s *Civis bonarum artium, bonarum partium.* One of the ancients said of a slave that pilfered in the house, that every thing was open to him: ^t *solum esse cui domi nihil sit nec obsignatum, nec occlusum:* which might likewise be said of a faithful servant in whom we repose an entire confidence.

Figures with regard to Thoughts.

I shall only mention some of the most remarkable among these.

The interrogation, apostrophe, and exclamation, are very common figures, and yet may render discourse more efficacious, lively, and affecting.

^u *Usque adeo-ne mori miserum est?* With this tone of voice a man speaks, who is going to battle; whereas

^o Verr. 4. n. 190.

^p n. 191.

^q 1. Catil. n. 30.

^r n. 7.

^s Pro Coel. n. 77.

^t 2 de Orat. n. 248.

^u Æn. 1. 12. v. 646.

an old man who is sick and near death, would say coldly : *non est usque adeo miserum mori.*

Æneas says, that if a certain event had been regarded, Troy would not have been taken.

u Trojaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres.

This apostrophe makes us feel the great love a good citizen bears to his country. Change a letter, *staret, maneret*, and the sentiment is gone.

Thus Cicero concludes the narrative he made of the punishment of a Roman citizen : * *O nomen dulce libertatis ! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis ! O lex Porcia, legesque Sempronie ! O graviter desiderata, et aliquando reddita plebi Romanæ, tribunitia potestas ! Hæcine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis R. in provincia populi R. in oppidis fœderatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi R. fasces et secures haberet, deligatus in foro virgis caderetur ?* These are the just expressions of grief and indignation.

Cicero joins and unites the greatest part of these figures, and adds others to them in a very lively passage. y *Quid enim, Tubero, tuus ille districtus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat ? cujus latus ille mucro petebat ? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum ? quæ tua mens ? oculi ? manus ? ardor animi ? quid cupiebas ? quid optabas ?* All this is only to declare, that Tubero was present at the battle of Pharsalia, and had fought against Cæsar. But what strength does this thought receive from so many and such lively figures, crowded one upon the other ? Do not they seem to insinuate that Tubero's sword fought every where for Cæsar ? For Cicero had said immediately before : *contra ipsum Casarem est congressus armatus.*

“ z O Princess ! whose destiny is so great and glorious, must you be born in the dominions of those who are the enemies of your house ? O eternal God, watch over her ! Holy angels, draw your invisible
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* Æn. l. 2. v. 56.

y Pro Ligar. n. 9.

* Verr. 7. n. 161 & 162.

z Bossuet.

“squarons round her, and guard the cradle of so
“great, so hapless a Princess !

“^a Ye gloomy retreats, where shame obliges poverty to shrowd herself, how often has she made her
“consolation and her charity flow even to you ; she,
“who was so strongly affected with your wants and
“afflictions, and more industrious to conceal her benesficence, than you were to hide your misery.”

^b O fortuné séjour ! O champs aimés des Cieux !
Que pour jamais foulant vos prés délicieux,
Ne puis-je ici fixer ma course vagabonde,
Et, connu de vos seul, oublier tout la monde.

Englified,

“ O charming spot ! O fields belov’d by heaven !
“ Why cannot I here fix my roving steps,
“ Wandèr for ever in your winding shades,
“ And known to you alone, forget the world !”

^c O rives du Jordain ! O champs aimés des cieux !
Sacrés monts, fertiles valées
Par cents miracles signalées !
Du doux pays de nos ayeux
Serons-nous toujours exilées ?

Englified.

“ O banks of Jordan ! fields belov’d by heaven !
“ Sacred mountains, fruitful vallies
“ By miracles immortal made !
“ Must we for ever be exil’d
“ From the delicious country of our fathers ?

Abner having complained that no more miracles were seen ; Joab, full of an holy indignation, answers him thus :

Et quel tems fut jamais si fertile en miracles ?
Quand Dieu par plus d’effets montra-t-il son pouvoir ?
Auras-tu donc toujours des yeux pour ne point voir,
Peuple

^a Flechier.

^b Despreaux,

^c Racine.

Peuple ingrat ? Quoi toujours les plus grandes mer-
veilles,
Sans ébranler ton cœur, frapperont tes oreilles ?

Englified,

" What age, in miracles, so much abounded ?
" When e'er did God so bright his power display ?
" O wilt thou still have eyes, and yet not see !
" Ungrateful people ! still shall mighty wonders
" Strike strong thine ear, yet not affect thy heart ?

The prosopopoeia is a figure that communicates ac-
tion and motion to inanimate things ; makes persons
speak, whether present or absent, and sometimes e-
ven the dead.

'Tis usual with the poets to give indignation and
admiration to rivers, trees ; sadness to beasts, &c.

d Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor.
Pontem indignatus Araxes.
Miraturque novas frondes, et non sua poma.
It tristis arator,
Mœrentem abjungens fraterna morte juvenum.

e Sous de fugeux coursiers l'onde écume, et se
plaint.
J'entens déjà frémir les deux mers étonnées
De voir leurs flots unis au pié des Pyrenées.

Englified,

" Beneath the fiery coursers, ocean foams,
" And vents his plaints.
" I hear, already, the two seas, amaz'd,
" Tremble for fear, to see their waves united,
" Under the Pyrenean mountains.

The elder Pliny often paints his descriptions in al-
most as strong colours as a poet would do. He de-
scribes wonderfully, in a very few words, the grief
and shame of a peacock, which, having lost its tail,
sought only to hide itself. ^f *Cauda amissa pudibundus*

O 2

ad

d Virgil.

e Despreaux.

f Lib. 10. c. 20.

ac mœrens quarit latebram. In another place he gives a sensation of joy to the earth, which anciently had seen itself cultivated by victorious generals, and broken up with a ploughshare adorned with laurels: *gaudente terra vomere laureato, et triumphali aratore.* He says therefore, that the houses where the statues of heroes nobly descended were ranged in order, still triumphed, as it were, after they had changed their masters; and that the walls reproached a coward who dwelt in them, with daily entering a place made sacred by the monuments of the virtue and glory of others. ^h *Triumphabant etiam dominis mutatis ipse domus; et erat hæc stimulis ingens, exprobrantibus tectis quotidie imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.* This passage was translated by father Bouhours, who being unable in French to express the ingenious brevity of the last thought, *intrare in alienum triumphum*, employed another turn, which indeed is very beautiful but longer, and consequently not so lively.

Cicero employs the same thought, but extends it, as an orator should do: it is when he speaks of the palace of Pompey the Great, which Anthony had seized.

He asks the latter, if he thought he was entering his own house, when he entered this porch adorned with the spoils of the enemies, and the prows of the ships taken from them. He afterwards uses the figure we are now speaking of, and says, he pities the very roofs and walls of that unfortunate house, which had neither seen nor heard any thing but what was wise and honourable, when Pompey dwelt under them; but is now become an obscure retreat for Anthony's debaucheries. ⁱ *An tu illa in vestibulo rostra, et hostium spolia cum aspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es; tamen et te, et tua, et tuos nosti.--- Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum.*
Quid

^a Lib. 18. c. 3.

^b Lib. 35. c. 2.

ⁱ 2 Philip. n. 68, 69.

Quid enim unquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Nunc in hujus sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro tricliniis popinae sunt.

This figure, which gives life, as it were, to inanimate things, adds a prodigious grace and vivacity to orations. When Cicero was pleading for Milo, he observed, that the law of the twelve tables allowed the slaying of a robber in some cases, whence he draws this conclusion: ^k *Quis est qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus sit, puniendum putet, cum videat aliquando gladium nobis ad occidendum hominem ab ipsis porrigi legibus?* He might have said barely, *cum videat licere nobis aliquando per leges hominem occidere.* But instead of that, he transforms the laws into persons, as it were, and represents them as running to the assistance of a man attacked by robbers, and putting a sword into his hand to defend himself. He again employs the same figure some lines after: ^l *Silent enim leges inter arma, nec se expectari jubent: cum ei, qui expectare velit, ante injusta poena luenda sit, quam justa repetenda.*

^m “At these cries Jerusalem shed a flood of tears, the arches of the temple shook, the river Jordan was troubled, and all its rivulets echo’d the sound of these mournful words: What! is this powerful man who saved the people of Israel, dead?”

“Tis well known that victory is naturally cruel, insolent, and impious; but M. Turenne made her gentle, rational, and religious.

“Ever since justice has groaned beneath the weight of laws and knotty formalities, and that to ruin one another with chicane, became a trade, kings were not able to support the fatigue of presiding over them.

“Has not her beauty been always guarded by the most scrupulous virtue?”

O 3

“I will

^k Pro Mil. n. 9.^l N. 10.^m Flechier.

o “ I will not relate the too happy success of his
 “ enterprizes, nor his famous victories, which vir-
 “ tue was ashamed of; nor that long series of pro-
 “ sperity which has astonished the whole world.

p “ Reason guides a man to an entire conviction
 “ of the historical proofs of the Christian religion:
 “ after which, it delivers and abandons him to an-
 “ other light, which, though not contrary, is yet
 “ entirely different from, and infinitely superior to
 “ it.”

There is another kind of prosopopœia, still more
 lively and bolder than the first. 'Tis when we ad-
 dress ourselves to inanimate things, or make them
 speak; or when, instead of relating indirectly the
 discourses of those in question, we make them deli-
 ver these discourses; or lastly, when we even give
 speech to the dead.

1. To address inanimate things.

After Cicero had given a description of Clodius's
 death, and ascribed it to a particular providence, he
 says, even religion and the altars of the gods were
 affected with it; and afterwards addresses his dis-
 course to them thus: *q Religiones mehercule ipsæ, a-
 raque, cum illam belluam cadere viderunt, commovisse
 se videntur, et jus in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim,
 Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro, atque
 obtestor, vosque Albanorum obruta ara, &c.*

r “ Had it not been for this peace, Flanders!
 “ thou bloody theatre, where so many tragic
 “ scenes are exhibited, thou wouldst have en-
 “ creased the number of our provinces; and, in-
 “ stead of being the unhappy source of our wars,
 “ thou wouldst now be the peaceable fruit of our
 “ victories.

s “ Sword of the Lord, what a dreadful stroke
 “ is this!

2. To

q Bossuet, speaking of Cromwell:

r Pro Mil. n. 85,

s Flechier.

p Fonten.

s Bossuet.

2. To give speech to things inanimate.

† Cicero introduces the country, in one of his invectives against Catiline, and makes it sometimes address Catiline, and sometimes himself. Appius likewise, in his beautiful speech for continuing the siege of Veii, introduces the commonwealth declaring to the soldiers, that since she pays them for the whole year, they ought to serve her for that time. *“An si ad calculos eum respublica vocet, non merito dicat: Annua ara habes, annuam operam ede? An tu equum censens militia semestri solidum te stipendium accipere?”*

3. Speeches put into the mouths of the persons themselves, have quite another effect than if they were barely related; and are very well adapted to raise either indignation or compassion.

’Tis by this figure, that Cicero in his last speech against Verres paints the cruel avarice of a goaler, who set a price on the tears and grief of fathers and mothers; made them purchase, at a dear rate, the sad consolation of seeing and embracing their children; and exacted money from them, for the favour of killing at one stroke those unhappy victims of Verres’s cruelty. *“Aderat janitor carceris, carnifex pratoris, mors terrorque sociorum et civium, licitor Sextius, cui ex omni gemitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. Ut adeas, tantum dabis: ut tibi cibum intro ferre liceat, tantum. Nemo recusabat. Quid, ut uno ictu securis afferam mortem filio tuo, quid dabis? ne diu crucietur? ne sæpius feriat? ne cum sensu doloris aliquo aut cruciatu spiritus auferatur? Etiam ob hanc causam pecunia licitori dabatur. O magnum atque intolerandum dolorem! O gravem acerbamque fortunam! Non vitam liberum, sed mortis celeritatem, pretio redimere cogebantur.”*

Milo was of a character that would not permit him to descend to mean supplications. Cicero puts a great and noble, and at the same time, a soft and moving speech into his mouth: *“Valeant, inquit, valeant,”*

† I. Catil. n. 18. et 27.

“ Liv. l. 5. n. 4.

* Verr. 7. n. 117, 118.

† Pro Mil. n. 92.

valeant cives mei. Sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati. Stet hæc urbs præclara, mihiq; patria charissima, quoquo modo merita de me edit. Tranquilla re-publica cives mei (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur. Ego cedam atque abibo, &c. y The effect of this figure is, to make those persons who are introduced speaking, to be present, as it were, to the auditors; and to write in such a manner, that we may imagine we see and hear them.

4. The orator goes still farther. He sometimes opens graves, and makes the dead rise out of them, to admonish or reprimand the living. We have two fine examples of this figure in ^z Cicero's plea for Cælius, to which I refer the reader.

At other times, the orator directs his discourse to the dead: “^a Great queen, I gratify your most affectionate wishes, when I celebrate this monarch; and this heart, which never lived but for him, awakens, though it be dust, and becomes sensible, even under this pall, at the name of so dear a comfort.”

^b To make these fictions pleasing, 'tis requisite that the utmost strength of eloquence should be employed, as Quintilian observes; for things that are extraordinary and incredible, and, as it were, out of nature, don't produce an indifferent effect. They must therefore necessarily either make a very strong impression, because they go beyond the bounds of truth, or be looked upon as puerilities, because they are false.

^c The *hypotyposis* is a figure which paints the image of the things we are speaking of, in such lively colours, that

^y Non audire iudex videtur aliena mala-deflentes, sed sensum ac vocem auribus accipere miserorum, quorum etiam mutus aspectus lachrymas movet. Quint. l. 6. c. 1.

^z Pro Cæl. n. 33. 36.

^a Bossuet.

^b Magna quaedam vis eloquentiæ desideratur. Falsa enim et incredibilia natura necesse est aut magis moveant, quia supra vera sunt; aut pro vanis accipiantur, quia vera non sunt. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

^c ὑποτύπωσις dicitur, proposita quaedam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potius videatur, quam audiri. Quintil. l. 9. c. 2.

that we think we see them, instead of hearing them barely related: and in this chiefly consists the force and power of eloquence, which has not sufficient authority, nor all the effect it ought to have, if it only strikes the ear, without moving the imagination, and reaching the heart.

1. These images are sometimes formed with a few words, and are not the least affecting.

^d Virgil paints, in a verse and a half, the consternation of Euryalus's mother the instant she heard of his death:

Miseræ calor ossa reliquit:
Excussî manibus radii, revolutaque pensa.

^e Cicero paints in two lines Verres's anger, or rather madness: *Ipse inflammatus scelere ac furore in forum venit. Ardebant oculi: toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat.*

He elsewhere draws another picture of Verres, still more beautiful, and in as few words, though it does not strike so much at first: as it happens sometimes with pictures, whose beauty is only perceived by the skilful. ^f *Stetit soleatus prætor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari, muliercula nixus in littore.* Quintilian explains, in an admirable manner, the force and energy of that short description. He recites the very words, because they may serve as a model to masters for the better understanding and explaining of authors. ^g *An quisquam, says he, tam procul à concipiendis imaginibus rerum abest, ut cum illa in Verrem legit, stetit soleatus, &c. non solum ipsum os intueri videatur, et locum, et habitum, sed quædam etiam ex iis, quæ dicta non sunt, sibi ipse astruat? Ego certè mihi cernere videor et vultum, et oculos, et deformes utriusque blanditias, et eorum qui aderant tacitam aversationem,*

Magna virtus est, res, de quibus loquimur, clare, atque ut cerni videantur, enunciare. Non enim satis efficit, neque, ut debet, plene dominatur oratio, si usque ad aures volet, atque ea sibi iudex, de quibus cognoscit, narrari credit, non exprimi, et oculis mentis ostendi. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

^d Æn. l. 9. v. 475.

^e In Verr. 7. n. 160.

^e In Verr. 7. n. 58.

^f Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

nem, ac timidam verecundiam. If we change some words in Cicero's description, and change the place of others, making it, *stetit Verres in littore . . . cum muliere colloquens*, this excellent picture will lose a great part of its vivacity and colouring. The chief beauty consists in painting a Roman prætor in the attitude Cicero represents him, leaning in a careless and indolent manner on a woman. These two words, *muliercula nixus*, are a speaking picture, which presents to the eye and the mind all that Quintilian sees in it. *In littore* reserved for the close, adds the last touch, as we have already observed in another place; and displays the ungovernable licentiousness of Verres, who, by appearing in so indecent a posture upon the shore, and before a multitude of spectators, seemed insolently to set all decency and public decorum at defiance.

Our poets are full of these short and lively descriptions.

h Son courfier écumant sous son maitre intrepide,
Nage tout orgueilleux de la main qui le guide.

Englified,

" His foaming steed, beneath his dauntless rider,
" Swims, proud of the glorious hand which guides
" him.

And again,

Quatre bœufs attelés, d'un pas tranquille et lent,
Promenoient dans Paris le monarque indolent.

Englified,

" Four harness'd oxen, with an easy pace,
" Drag the lethargic monarch about Paris.

But nothing is more perfect than the following picture :

La mollesse oppressée
Dans sa bouche à ce mot sent sa langue glacée,
Et lasse de parler, succombant sous l'effort,
Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil, et s'endort.

Englified,

h Despreaux.

Englified,

“ This word oppresses sloth ;

“ Instant her tongue is frozen in her mouth :

“ Now dead to speech, sinking beneath her efforts ;

“ She stretches, sighs, she shuts her eyes and sleeps.

2. The descriptions I have hitherto given are short, and only exhibit a single object. But there are others of a greater length, and more circumstantiated, which resemble those pictures where several figures are represented, all the attitudes of which strike and command our attention. Such is that description of a riotous entertainment, mentioned in an harangue of Cicero which is lost. *Videbar mihi videre alios intrantes, alios autem exeuntes, partim ex vino vacillantes, partim hesternæ potatione oscitantes. Versabatur inter hos Gallius unguentis oblitus, redimitus coronis. Humus erat immunda, lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis et spinis cooperta piscium.* Quintilian, who preserved this beautiful fragment, displays its beauty and value by a very lively expression, which comprises the whole. ⁱ *Quid plus videret, qui intrasset ?* He himself gives an excellent description of a town taken by storm and plundered, which is well worth reading. We find a great number of this kind in Cicero, which will not escape the observation of a diligent master. Our French poets, as well as orators, abound also with a multitude of these.

Josabeth in Racine's *Athaliah*, gives us a wonderful description of the manner in which she saved Joas from the slaughter.

^k Hélas ! l'état horrible où le ciel me l'offrit,
Revient à tout moment effraier mon esprit,
De princes égorgés la chambre étoit remplie.
Un poignard à la main l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ses barbares foldats,
Et poursuivoit le cours de ses assassinats.

Joas

ⁱ Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

^k Racine.

Joas laiffé pour mort, frapa foudain ma vûe.
 Je me figure encore fa nourrice éperdue,
 Qui devant les bourreaux s'étoit jettée en vain,
 Et foible le tenoit renverfé fur fon fein.
 Je le pris tout fanglant. En baignant fon vifage,
 Mes pleurs du fentiment lui rendirent l'ufage :
 Et foit fraieur encore, ou pour me careffer.
 De fes bras innocens je me fentis preffer.

Englifhed,

" Alas ! the ftate in which heav'n gave him to me,
 " Returns each moment to my frighted foul ;
 " The room was fill'd around with murther'd princes,
 " Dread Athaliah, with her fword untheath'd,
 " Rouz'd her barbarian foldiers to the flaughter,
 " And ftill purfu'd the feries of her murthers.
 " Joas, now left as dead ! ftruck, ftrong, my fight :
 " Methinks I ftill behold his weeping nurfe,
 " Kneeling, in vain, before the bloody hangman ;
 " The tender babe upon her breaft reclined.
 " I took him, bloody : bathing then his face,
 " Soon did my tears recal his fleeting breath.
 " Whether 'twas fear, or whether to embrace me,
 " I felt him prefs me with his tender arms.

M. Flechier's description of hospitals may ferve as a model in this kind. 'Tis in the queen's funeral oration. " Let us behold her in thefe hospitals, where
 " the practifed her public acts of piety ; in thofe
 " places, where all the infirmities and accidents of
 " human life are affembled : where the groans and
 " complaints of thofe who fuffer, and are in pain,
 " fill the foul with sympathetic fadnefs ; where the
 " fmell that exhales from the bodies of fo many dif-
 " eafed patients, makes thofe who attend upon them
 " ready to faint away ; where we fee pain and po-
 " verty exercifing their fatal empire ; and where the
 " image of mifery and death ftrikes almoft every
 " fenfe. It is there, that, raifing herfelf above the
 " fears and delicacies of nature, to fatisfy her charity,
 " though

“ though at the hazard of her health, she was seen
 “ every week drying up the tears of this object ;
 “ providing for the wants of that ; procuring re-
 “ medies and comforts for the evils of some, and
 “ consolations and ease of conscience for others.”

These passages are very well adapted to the taste of youth. We must observe to them, that the most certain way of succeeding in descriptions of this kind is to consult nature, to study her well, and to take her as a guide ; so that every one, inwardly sensible of the truth of what is spoke, may find within himself the sentiments expressed in the discourse. ^m For that purpose we must represent to ourselves, in a lively manner, all the circumstances of the thing to be described, and bring it before us by the strength of our imagination ; as if we had been spectators of it. ⁿ And why, says Quintilian, should not the imagination perform as much for the orator on this occasion, as she does for people, who are addicted to any kind of passions, as, for instance, misers or ambitious men, who in this kind of pleasing dreams, in which they form a thousand chimerical projects of fortune and riches, abandon themselves so much to the object of their darling passion, and are so strongly possessed with it, that they really believe they see and enjoy it.

Quintilian himself furnishes us with a model of this way of making a description, which I will quote at length, because it shews youth how they must proceed

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P

ceed

⁴ Naturam intueamur, hanc sequamur. Omnis eloquentia circa opera vitae est : ad se refert quisque quae audit : et id facillime accipiunt animi, quod cognoscunt. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

^m Per quae (*Παράστασις*) imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo ; ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere videamur. Has quisquis bene conceperit, is erit in affectibus potentissimus. Hunc quidam dicunt *εὐπαρταστὰς*, qui sibi res, voces, actus secundum verum optime fingit. Quint. l. 6. cap. 2.

ⁿ Nam si inter oīa animorum, et ipse inanes, et velut somnia quaedam vigilantium, ita nos hae de quibus loquimur imagines prosequuntur, ut peregrinari, navigare, praeliari, populos alloqui, divitiarum quas non habemus usum videamur disponere, nec cogitare, sed facere : hoc animi vitium ad utilitatem non transferemus ? Ibid.

ceed in it, in order to compose well. *o Ut hominem occisum querar, non omnia, quæ in re præsentî accidisse credibile est, in oculis habebø? Non percussor ille subitus erumpet? non expavesceat circumventus? exclamabit, vel rogabit, vel fugiet? non ferientem, non concidentem videbo? non animo sanguis, et pallor, et gemitus, extremus denique expirantis hiatus infidet?* This passage seems to be copied from Cicero, who thus describes a like action. *p Nonne vobis hæc, quæ audistis, cernere oculis videmini, Judices? Non illum miserum ignarum casus sui, redeuntem a cœna videtis? non positas insidias? non impetum repentinum? Non versatur ante oculos vobis in cæde Glaucia? Non adest iste Roscius? non suis manibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum, sui sceleris acerbissimi nefariaque violentiæ nuncium?*

I M A G E S.

The last words of the description I have here cited, direct me to point out to youth in this place one of the most common sources of oratorical beauties, which consists in giving, as it were, body and reality to the things we are speaking of; and painting them by visible strokes, which may strike the senses, move the imagination, and present a sensible object. This method has some relation to the precedent figure, the hypothesis, and perhaps is a part of it. *Non suis manibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum?* These words, *suis manibus*, produce here the effect I am speaking of, and present an image to the mind. The same observation may be made on the two verses above cited.

Un poignard à la main l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ses barbares soldats.

Englished.

" Fierce Athaliah, in her hand a poinard,
" Prompted her savage soldiers to the slaughter."

This

This touch, with a poinard in her hand, forms all the vivacity of these lines. The objects we describe may be painted in this manner with infinite variety, of which I shall give several examples, that the reader may apply to the rule I have already given.

4. *Tendit ad vos virgo vestalis manus supplices easdem, quas pro vobis diis immortalibus tendere consuevit.---Prospicite ne ignis ille aternus, nocturnis Fonte laboribus vigiliisque servatus, sacerdotis Vestæ lacrymis extinctus esse dicatur.*

† *Hac magnitudo maleficij facit, ut, nisi pene manifestum parricidium proferatur, credibile non sit.---Pene dicam respersas manus sanguine paterno iudices videant oportet, si tantum facinus, tam immane, tam acerbum credituri sint.*

“ What nation has not felt the effects of his valour ; and which of our frontier towns has not served as a theatre to his glory ?

“ In the tumult and noise of armies, he used to entertain himself with the sweet and secret hopes of his solitude. With one hand he fell upon the Amalekites, while the other was lifted up to draw down upon himself the blessings of heaven.

“ It taught him to lift up his pure, his innocent hands to heaven.

“ Before he accepted of any post or employment, he would know the duties of it. The first tribunal he ascended, was that of his conscience, there to examine his intentions thoroughly.

“ When he restored God’s worship, in his conquests ; and as he was marching upon those ramparts he had a little before demolished, his first homage was his offering to God the laurels he had won, at the foot of his altars which he restored.

“ I am not afraid of blending her praises with the sacrifice offered for her ; and I take from the altar all the incense I burn upon her tomb.---

“ Why should I take off the veil which she threw over her actions ?

P 2

“ He

“ He made it his study to discover truth, through
 “ the veils of falshood and imposture with which
 “ human lusts cover it.

“ ^t Are such truths learnt at court, in the army,
 “ under the helmet, and the coat of mail ?

“ ^u You think then, that anxiety and the most
 “ deadly sorrows, are not to be hid under royal
 “ robes ; or that a kingdom is an universal remedy
 “ against all evils ?

“ Methinks I still see that flower falling.” *Speaking of the death of an infant prince.*

“ When all things submitted to Lewis, and we
 “ believed the miraculous times were returning,
 “ when walls fell down at the sound of trumpets ;
 “ the whole nation cast their eyes on the Queen,
 “ and thought they saw the thunder, which demo-
 “ lished so many cities, fly from her oratory.

“ ^x With a calm and serene aspect, he (Lewis
 “ XIV.) formed those thunderbolts which were
 “ heard throughout the world, and those which
 “ still remain to be hurled.”

y Pour comble de prospérité
 Il espere (*l'impie*) reviver en sa posterité :
 Et d'enfans à sa table une riante troupe
 Semble boire avec lui la joie à pleine coupe.

Englified.

“ The wretch, more prosp'rous still,
 “ Hopes to revive in his posterity :
 “ Fancies his children are conversing with him,
 “ And flush'd with joy smiles o'er the flowing bowls.

Before I conclude this article, I must observe in
 general, ^z that figures ought to be applied with great
 discern-

^t Mascar.

^u Bossuet.

^x Pellisson.

^y Racine.

^z Una in re maxime utilis, ut quotidiani et semper eodem
 modo formati sermonis fastidium levet, et nos à vulgari dicendi
 genere defendat. Quo si quis parce, et cum res poscet, ute-
 tur, velut asperfo quodam condimento, jucundior erit. At qui
 nimium affectaverit, ipsam illam gratiam varietatis amittet—

Nam

discernment and prudence. They are like seasoning to an oration; they raise the style, make us quit the vulgar and common way of speaking, prevent the distaste which a tiresome uniformity would occasion; but then they must be employed sparingly, and with discretion: for if they are used too often, they lose the grace of variety, in which their principal merit consists; and the more they shine, the more they disgust, and tire, from a vicious affectation, which shews they are not natural, but far fetched with too much care, and, as it were, forced in.

It is not necessary to observe, that some figures are so common and trivial, they have lost all their beauty, especially when they are too long. ^z *Miserum est exturbari fortunis omnibus: miserius est injuria. Acerbum est---acerbius. Calamitosum est---calamitosius. Funestum est---funestius. Indignum est---indignius. Luctuosum est---luctuosius. Horribile est---horribilius.* The auditor anticipates the answer, and is tired of this burthen of a song always in the same strain. The same may be observed of the other figure, which is still more tedious. ^a *Qui sunt qui fœdera sæpe ruperunt? Carthaginenses. Qui sunt qui in Italia crudele bellum gesserunt? Carthaginenses. Qui sunt, &c.?*

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

Of ORATORIAL PRECAUTIONS.

I Here give that name to a certain care which the orator must take not to offend the delicacy of those before, or of whom, he is speaking; and the studied and artful turns which he employs to express some

P 3

things,

Nam et secretæ et extra vulgarem usum positæ, ideoque magis nobiles, ut novitate aurem excitant, ita copia faciunt: nec se obvias fuisse dicenti, sed conquistæ, et ex omnibus latebris extractas congestasque declarant. Quintil. l. 9. c. 3.

^a Pro Quint. n. 95.

^a Cornif. l. 4.

things, that would otherwise appear harsh and offensive. I call this oratorical precautions, because it contains an art and address, certainly essential to rhetoric, and for that reason deserves the attention of youth. Some examples will render the thing more obvious.

Chrysogonus, Sylla's freed-man, was in such credit with his master, (who was then absolute in the commonwealth) that no lawyer durst plead against him in behalf of Roscius. Cicero only, though very young, had the courage to undertake so delicate a cause. ^b He is very careful throughout the whole speech, to observe in several places, that Sylla was a stranger to all the villainies of his freed-man; that great industry had been used to conceal them from him; that those who could have informed him of them, were denied all access to him; that, on the whole, it was not surprising that ^c Sylla, who alone had the care of re-establishing and governing the commonwealth, should not know or neglect several things, since a great many escaped the knowledge and attention of Jupiter himself in the government of the universe. It is very obvious that such precautions were absolutely necessary.

Cicero, in his pleading, called *Divinatio in Verrem*, is obliged to shew that he is fitter to plead against Verres than Cecilius. ^d Such a cause was to be managed with great address and conduct, to avoid giving offence; for self-praise is always odious, especially when it turns on wit and eloquence. After Cicero had proved that Cecilius had none of the qualifications necessary for a cause of so much importance, he is far from ascribing them to himself: so gross a vanity would have set every body against him. ^e He says only, that he had laboured all his life to acquire

^b Pro Rosc. n. 21, 22, 25, 91, 110, 127.

^c N. 131.

^d Intelligo quam scopuloso difficilique in loco verser. Nam cum omnis arrogantia odiosa est, tum illa ingenii atque eloquentiae multo molestissima, n. 36.

^e Fortasse dices: Quid? Ergo haec in te sunt omnia? Utinam quidem essent! veruntamen ut esse possent magno studio mihi a pueritia est elaboratum, n. 40.

acquire them, and that if he was not able to succeed, notwithstanding his great pains and industry; it is not surprising that Cecilius, who never had any idea of this noble profession, should be absolutely incapable of it.

When he pleaded for Flaccus he was to invalidate the testimony of several Greeks, who had sworn against his client. To do this the more effectually, he attempts to depreciate the nation itself, as not over scrupulous in matters of veracity and sincerity. He does not begin abruptly with so harsh a charge. At first, he sets apart, as it were, a real number of worthy persons, who are far from being carried away with the blind passion of some of their countrymen. He afterwards gives great encomiums to the whole nation, highly magnifying their genius, abilities, politeness, their taste for arts, and their marvellous talent for eloquence: but he adds, that the Greeks never piqued themselves upon being exact or sincere in giving evidence. *f Verumtamen hoc dico de toto genere Græcorum: tribuo illis litteras; do multarum artium disciplinam; non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam; denique etiam, si qua sibi alia sumunt, non repugno: testimoniorum religionem et fidem nunquam ista natio cohibet, totiusque hujus-ce rei quæ sit vis, quæ auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant.*

We know Cicero excelled chiefly in moving the passions, and that he often drew tears from the eyes of his auditors, by the soft and affecting discourse he put into the mouths of his clients, in the conclusion of his pleadings. The greatness of soul and noble pride upon which Milo valued himself, deprived his advocate of so powerful a resource. *g* But Cicero had the art of making even his courage of service towards gaining the favour of the judges; and he himself assumed the character of a petitioner, which he could not give to his client.

The

f Pro Flacco, n. 9.

g Ergo et ille captavit ex illa præstantia animi favorem, et in locum lachrymarum ejus ipse successit. Quintil. l. 6. c. 1.

The inviolable respect which children owe to their parents, even when they treat them with rigour and injustice, makes some conjunctures very difficult, in which they are obliged to speak against their parents; and it is on these occasions that true rhetoric furnishes turns and artful strokes, which give to paternal authority whatever is its due, without losing any of the advantages of the cause. ^b It must then be inculcated, that nothing but indispenfible necessity can force, from the mouths of children, complaints which their hearts would suppress; and that even through those complaints, not only a fund of respect may be discovered, but one of love and tenderness also. A fine example of this precept may be seen in the pleading for Cluentius, whom his mother treated with unheard of cruelty.

ⁱ The rule I have now touched upon regards every inferior, who has any just pretensions against a superior, whom he ought to respect and honour.

There are some occasions where interest or decency will not permit us to explain ourselves in express terms ^k, but in which we would, at the same time, insinuate to the judge some things we dare not speak openly. A son, for example, cannot gain his suit without discovering a crime of which his father is guilty. ^l The things themselves, says Quintilian, must lead the judge insensibly to guess at what the parties are unwilling to declare; that, every other motive being laid aside, he may be forced, as it were, to see the only one which remains; and which the respect for a father

^b Hoc illis commune remedium est; si in tota actione aequaliter appareat, non honor modo, sed etiam caritas: praeterea causa sit nobis iusta sic dicendi; neque id moderate tantum faciamus, sed etiam necessario. Quint. l. 11. c. 1.

ⁱ N. 12 & 17.

^k In quo per quandam suspicionem, quod non dicimus accipi volumus. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

^l Res ipsae perducant iudicem ad suspicionem, et amoliamur caetera, ut hoc solum supersit: in quo multum etiam affectus juvant, et interrupta silentio dictio, et cunctationes. Sic enim fiet, ut iudex quaerat illud nescio quid, quod ipse fortasse non crederet, si audiret, et ei, quod a se inventum existimat, credat. Ibid.

father hinders him from discovering And then, the son's speech being suspended and interrupted from time to time, as it were, by a forced silence and a warm sense of tenderness, must explain the violence he does himself, to prevent his letting words drop, which the force of truth would seemingly extort from him. By this, the judge is inclined to enquire after that inexpressible something, which he would not perhaps have believed, had it been discovered to him; but which he now is fully convinced of, from the belief that he has discovered it by his own enquiry.

There are likewise some persons of so venerable a character and so universal a reputation, that their very names are enough to bear down their adversaries. Such was Cato in his contest with Murena; and we cannot make youth too sensible of the surprising art with which ^m Cicero deprived Cato of some part of his authority and credit, by the picture he drew of the sect of the Stoics, which he turned into ridicule with so much wit and humour, that Cato himself could not forbear laughing at it; and this, without saying any thing derogatory to his person, which was to be, in a manner, sacred to him, and was certainly inaccessible and impregnable to any kind of censure.

Was there ever a nicer or more difficult affair than that which Cicero undertook, in opposing the levelling or Agrarian law, for so they called the law which appointed lands to be distributed among the poorest of people? That law had at all times served the tribunes as a bait to gain the populace, and to fix them in their interest. It appeared indeed to be very much in their favour, by procuring them repose, and a safe retreat. However Cicero undertakes to make the people themselves reject it, just after they had chosen him consul with unparalleled marks of distinction. Had he begun with speaking
openly.

^m Quam molli autem articulo tractavit Catonem, cujus naturam summe admiratus, non ipsius vitio, sed Stoicae sectae, quibusdam in rebus factam duriores videri volebat. Q. l. 11. c. 3.

openly against that law, the whole people would have exclaimed and rose against him. He was too wise, and too well acquainted with men to act after that manner. It deserves our admiration, to see how long he keeps his auditors in suspense, without letting them discover what party he had taken, or what opinion he intended to inculcate. He employs at first all the power of his eloquence, to shew the people the lively sense he had of the very signal favour he had lately received from them. He carefully heightens all the circumstances of it, which reflected so much honour upon him. He afterwards takes notice of the duties and obligations, which so unanimous a consent of the people in chusing him consul, had laid him under. He declares, that as he is obliged to them for all his honours and dignities, he shall always have the popular interest at heart, not only during the continuance of his office, but during his life. But he takes notice, that the word *popular* requires explanation; and after shewing its various acceptations, after he had discovered the secret intrigues of the tribunes, who concealed their ambitious designs under that plausible name; after he had highly applauded the Gracchi, who were zealous defenders of the Agrarian law, and whose memory for that reason, was so dear to the Roman people; after he had thus insinuated himself by degrees into the minds of the auditors, and gained them entirely; he does not, however, dare yet attack openly the law in question, but contents himself with protesting, that in case the people, after hearing him, don't acknowledge that this law, under a deceitful outside, gives in effect a blow to their quiet and their liberty, he then will join them, and submit to their opinion. This is a perfect model of what we call an *insinuatory exordium* in the schools; and methinks one such passage as this is sufficient for forming the understanding of youth, and teaching them the dextrous and respectful way of combating the opinions of those who are not to be opposed directly, on the score of acknowledgment and submission.

sion. This discourse had all the effect which was expected from it; and the people being undeceived by the eloquent discourse of their consul, repealed the Agrarian law.

The passage in Cicero's oration for Ligarius, where an enquiry is made what people ought to think of Pompey's party, required to be handled with great nicety. Tubero had declared those to be criminal who bore arms against Cæsar. Cicero heightens and condemns the harshness of that expression; and after recapitulating the different names given to the conduct of those who had declared for Pompey, as error, fear, lust, passion, prepossession, intoxication, rashness: "For my part, says he, if people ask me, what is the proper and true name which ought to be given to our misfortune, methinks 'tis a fatal influence that has blinded men, and forced them along, in spite of all their endeavours to the contrary; so that we must not wonder to see the unsurmountable will of the gods prevail over the counsels of men." *n Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali quærat, fatalis quadam calamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas hominum mentes occupasse: ut nemo mirari debeat, humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata.* There was nothing in this definition injurious to Pompey's party; and so far from offending Cæsar, it pleased him very much.

Such of our writers as have treated of the last civil wars of France, seem to have had the above mentioned passage of Cicero in view; but then they have very much improved upon the original.

"Alas, unhappy France! though thou gottest rid of that enemy, were there not still enough remaining, without turning thine arms against thyself? What fatal influence could induce thee to shed so much blood? Why cannot we obliterate those melancholy years from history, and keep them from the knowledge of our posterity? But since 'tis impossible to pass over things, which the shedding

* Pro Ligar. n. 171.

• Mascar. M. de Turenne's fun. orat.

“shedding of so much blood has too strongly record-
 “ed, let us reveal them at least, like that artful paint-
 “er who invented the profile, in order to conceal the
 “blemishes in a face. Let us remove from our sight
 “that darkness of mind, that fatal night, which be-
 “ing formed in the confusion of public affairs by so
 “many different interests, made even those go astray
 “who sought for the right path.

p “Do you, gentlemen, remember that period of
 “disorder and confusion, when the gloomy spirit of
 “discord confounded justice and right with passion,
 “duty with interest, the good cause with the bad; when
 “most of the brightest stars suffered some eclipse, and
 “the most faithful subjects saw themselves involunta-
 “rily drawn away by the torrent of parties, like those
 “pilots, who finding themselves surprised by a storm
 “in the midst of the ocean, are obliged to change their
 “course, and abandon themselves for a time to the
 “winds and the tempest? Such is God’s justice;
 “such is the natural infirmity of men: but the wise
 “man easily recovers himself, and there is both in
 “politics and in religion, a kind of repentance more
 “glorious than innocence itself, which makes an ad-
 “vantagous reparation for a little frailty, by extra-
 “ordinary virtues, and a continual fervour.

q “What shall I say? God suffered the winds and
 “waves to roar and toss, and the storm arose. A pesti-
 “ferous air of factions and insurrections won the heart
 “of the state, and extended itself to the most distant
 “parts. The passions, which our sins had kindled,
 “broke down the fences of justice and reason; and the
 “wisest men being drawn away by the unhappiness of
 “engagements and conjunctures, against their own
 “inclinations, found they had strayed beyond the
 “bounds of their duty, before they perceived it.”

ART I.

p Flechier, in M. Turenne’s funeral oration.

q M. Flechier, in M. de Tellier’s funeral oration.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

Of the PASSIONS.

I Should be extremely tedious, did I undertake to touch even but cursorily all that concerns this subject, it being one of the most important in rhetoric. 'Tis known that the passions are, as it were, the soul of an oration: that 'tis from them it derives that impetuosity and vehemence, which bear down all before them; and that the orator, by their means, attains an absolute empire over his auditors, and inspires them with whatever sentiments he pleases; sometimes by artfully taking advantage of the bias and favourable disposition of people's minds, but at other times in surmounting all their opposition by the victorious strength of the oration, and obliging them to surrender, as it were, in spite of themselves. Cæsar was not able to resist, when he heard Cicero's defence of Ligarius, though he was much upon his guard against his eloquence; being determined, when he came out of his own house, not to pardon the latter.

I think it sufficient to refer youth to Cicero's * perorations, and to exhort them to make the application themselves of the excellent precepts left us by Cicero and Quintilian on this subject. † The most important of all is, that, in order to affect others, we must be affected ourselves; for which end, we must be deeply touched with the subject we treat of, be fully con-

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Q

vinced

* *Tantam vim habet illa, quæ recte à bono poeta dicta est, flexissima atque omnium regina rerum oratio, ut non modo inclinantem erigere, aut stantem inclinare, sed etiam adversantem et repugnantem, ut imperator bonus ac fortis, capere possit. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 187.*

* Conclusions of a speech.

† Summa circa movendos affectus in hoc posita est, ut moveamur ipsi. . . . Primum est ut apud nos valeant ea quæ valere apud judicem volumus, afficiamurque antequam afficere conemur. . . . Ubi miseratione opus erit, nobis ea de quibus querimus, accidisse credamus, atque id animo nostro persuadeamus. Nos illi simus, quos gravia, indigna, tristia passos queramus. Nec agamus rem quasi alienam, sed assumamus parumper illum dolorem. Ita dicemus, quæ in simili nostro casu dicturi essemus. Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

vinced of it, and be sensible of its whole truth and importance. We must likewise form a strong representation to ourselves of the things we would make use of, to move the passions of the auditors, and describe them in a warm and lively manner; and this we shall do, if we are careful to study nature, and to take her always for our guide. † For whence comes it that we see ignorant persons express themselves with so much eloquence, in the first sallies of their grief or anger, except 'tis because those sensations are not studied or fictitious, but drawn from truth and nature itself.

‡ An Athenian having entreated Demosthenes to plead for him against a citizen, from whom he pretended to have received a great affront; and as he was giving a relation of his pretended ill usage with a cold and sedate tone of voice, without passion or warmth: Not a word of this is true, says Demosthenes; you have not been ill-treated, as you say you were. How! replies the other, raising his voice, and seeming in a great passion: Have not I been ill-treated, have not I been injured? Upon hearing this tone of voice, Demosthenes perceived the truth, and undertook the cause. * Cicero relates something like this of an orator named Callidius, against whom he pleaded: What! says he, if it were true that a design was formed against your life, as you pretend, would you speak of an attempt of this kind with such a languid careless air, which, so far from moving the passions of your auditors, is fit only to lull them asleep? Is that the language of grief and indignation, which put lively and animated complaints into the

mouths

† Quid enim aliud est causae, ut lugentes utique in recenti dolore disertissime quaedam exclamare videantur, et ira nonnunquam in indolentis quoque eloquentiam faciat, quam quod illis inest vis mentis, et veritas ipsa morum? Ibid.

‡ Plut. in vit. Demosth.

* Hoc ipsum posuit pro argumento, quod ille tam solute egisset, tam leniter, tam oscitanter. Tu isthuc, M. Callidi, nisi fingeres, faceres? . . . Ubi dolor? ubi ardor animi, qui etiam ex infantium ingeniis elicere voces et querelas solet? Nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis. . . Itaque tantum abfuit ut inflammaret nostros animos: somnum isto loco vix tenebamus. Brut. n. 277, 278.

mouths even of children? These two examples shew that we must be moved ourselves, if we would move others, and feel the same emotions in our own breasts, with which we would inspire others. * *Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi.*

y The peroration is the proper place for the passions. It is there the orator displays all that is powerful, tender, and moving in eloquence, according to the importance and nature of affairs, in order to complete his conquest over the hearts of the auditors, and to extort their consent.

Sometimes he does not stay till the conclusion, to raise the passions in this manner; but places them after every narrative, when the cause comprehends several of them; or after every part of the narrative, when it is too long; or, lastly, after the proof of every fact, and it is that we call amplification. The invectives against Verres furnish a great many examples of this kind.

The orator likewise moves the passions in the other parts of the oration, ^z but more concisely, and with much greater caution and reserve. ^a *Omnes hos affectus . . . alia quoque partes recipiunt sed breviores.* And this is what Anthony observed with such success in his fine oration for Norbanus: ^b *Ut tu illa omnia odio, invidia, misericordia miscuisti!* says Sulpicius, after he had run through and pointed out the whole series, and all the several parts of the oration.

^c "I wonder at those, says Quintilian, who pretend that the passions are not to be raised in narration. If they mean only by this, that we are not to dwell long upon them, as is practised in the peroration, they are in the right; for there we must avoid prolixity. But I do not see the reason why endeavours should not be used to affect the judges while the orator is informing them of the

Q 2

the

* Horat.

y Quinti l. 6. c. 1.

^z Degustanda haec (misericatio) proœmio, non consumenda. Q. l. 4. c. 1.^a Ibid.^b Cic. lib. de Orat. n. 203.^c Quinti l. 4. c. 2.

“ the state of the case, since if we have then been
 “ able to inspire them with sentiments of anger or
 “ compassion, they will be much better disposed to
 “ receive and relish the proofs. ^d Cicero used this
 “ method in describing the punishment of a ^e Ro-
 “ man citizen, and in relating, in another place,
 “ the cruelty of Verres to Philodamus.” *Quid?*
Philodami casum nonne per totam expositionem incen-
dit invidia? (words that shew the whole narration is
 moving and pathetic.) “ Indeed, ^f to wait till the
 “ end of the oration, in order to draw compassion
 “ for things which we had related with dry eyes, is
 “ a little too late.” A relation of grave and moving
 subjects would be very imperfect, if it were not live-
 ly and passionate.

^g The passage relating to Gavius’s punishment in
 the last invective against Verres, would alone be suf-
 ficient to justify the rules we have now laid down.
^h After Cicero had prepared for the fact by a kind
 of exordium which is very vehement, ⁱ and related
 the manner of, and the reason why, Gavius was
 carried to Messina before ^k Verres, he comes to the
 description of the punishment. He insists at first
 upon these two circumstances, *viz.* whipping a Ro-
 man citizen in the middle of the forum at Messina,
 and fixing him on a cross. These circumstances are
 not related coldly, or without passion, but after a
 very lively and moving manner, *Cadebatur virgis in*
medio foro Messanæ civis Romanus, judices, cum in-
terea nullus gemitus, nulla vox aliâ illius miseri inter
dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc :
civis Romanus sum. Hac se commemoratione civitatis
omnia verba depulsurum, cruciatumque à corpore de-
jecturum arbitrabatur. Is non modò hoc non perfecit,
ut virgarum vim deprecaretur : sed, cum imploraret
sæpius, usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux in-
quam,

^d Verr. 7. n. 171.

^e Verr. 3. n. 76.

^f Serum est advocare his rebus affectum, quas securus narraveris.

^g N. 157, 171.

^h N. 157, 158.

ⁱ N. 159.

^k N. 160, 161.

quam, infelici et arumnoso, qui nunquam istam potestatem viderat, comparabatur.

This narrative, which is very pathetic in itself, is followed by the amplification,¹ in which Cicero, with his usual eloquence, displays all the indignity of this ill-usage of Gavius. *O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! &c.*

^m He relates one of the last circumstances of the execution, and reproaches Verres with having industriously made choice, for putting a Roman citizen to death, of a place, from whence the unhappy wretch might, as he was dying, see Italy from the top of the gallows: *Ut ille, qui se civem Romanum diceret, ex cruce Italiam cernere, ac domum suam prospicere posset.* This thought, which is very moving, though expressed in two lines, is immediately after enlarged and explained. *Italiae conspectus ad eam rem ab isto electus est, ut ille in dolore cruciatuque moriens, per angusto freto divisa servitutis ac libertatis jura cognosceret; Italia autem alumnum suum extremo summoque supplicio affectum videret.*

ⁿ The amplification follows of course, and it represents that circumstance in the most glaring light possible. *Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, &c.*

^o In fine, Cicero concludes all this passage with a figure equally bold and pathetic; and by a last reflection which affects all the citizens, and seems to be a kind of epilogue, by saying that if he should speak in a desert, the hardest rocks would be moved with the relation of so unworthy a treatment. How much more reason then have the senators and judges to be affected, who, by their condition and stations, are the protectors of the laws and defenders of the Roman liberty? *Si in aliqua desertissima solitudine ad saxa et scopulos hæc conqueri et de-*

plorare;

Q 3

¹ N. 161, 167.

² N. 169.

^m N. 168.

^o N. 170, 173.

plorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima tanta et tam indigna rerum atrocitate commoverentur, &c.

This is a perfect model of the manner how a narration may be vehement, either in the relation itself, or by the reflections which follow it.

A kind of chance furnished Crassus instantaneously with a very lively and vehement turn of eloquence. Cicero has preserved it in his second book *de Oratore*. Whilst Crassus was pleading against Brutus, the funeral of a Roman lady, who was related to the latter, came into the forum, where 'tis known that orators used to harangue. Upon this, he discontinued his oration, and says to Brutus: "What news would you have this lady carry to your father? What would you have her say to those famous Romans, whose images are carried with this funeral; to your ancestors, to that Brutus who delivered the people from kingly government? What shall she tell them you are employed in? Upon what celebrated action, what virtue; on what kind of glory shall she tell them you value yourself?" And after he had made a long catalogue of all his faults: "Can you still, says he, after all this, bear the light of the sun? Shew yourself in the city? Appear before your fellow-citizens? Ought not the very sight of this corpse and these images, which seem to reproach you with all your extravagancies, to fill you with fear and horror?"

Sometimes

P Quas tragoedias egit idem (Crassus) cum casu in eadem causa cum funere efferretur anus Junia! Pro, Dii immortales, quae fuit illa, quanta vis? quam inexpectata? quam repentina? cum, coniectis oculis, gestu omni imminenti, summa gravitate et celeritate verborum: Brute, quid sedes? Quid illam anum patri nunciare vis tuo? quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? quid majoribus tuis? quid L. Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit? quid te facere? cui rei, cui gloriae, cui virtuti studere? Patrimonione augendo, &c. Tu lucem aspicere audes? tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium esse conspectu? tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipsas non perhorrescis? 2. de Orat. n. 22, 226.

Sometimes only a turn or a sentiment thrown into a speech produced this effect. Cicero, in the short narrative he made in pleading for Ligarius, might, according to Quintilian's observation, be satisfied with saying: *¶ Tum Ligarius nullo se implicari negotio passus est.* *†* But he joins an image to it which makes the narrative more probable and moving. *Tum Ligarius domum spectans, et ad suos redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est.*

§ Virgil, in less than a single verse, gives a very moving description of the death of a young man, who had left Argos, the place of his birth, in order to attach himself to Evander,

Et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.

† This tender regard of a dying young man for his country, which he should never see more, and melancholy remembrance of what was most delightful and dear to him in the world, form a beautiful picture in three words: *dulces-----reminiscitur-----moriens.*

These passages are very moving, because the images they express awaken the sentiments of love and tenderness for one's country, which every man bears in his heart; and they have a nearer relation to that kind of emotions we are going to speak of.

¶ Besides this first species of the strongest and most violent passions, which the rhetoricians call *πάθος*, there is another sort they call *ῥθος*, which consists in softer and more insinuating sentiments, and yet are not therefore less moving or lively, * the effect of which.

¶ Pro Ligar. n. 3.

† Ita, quod exponebat, et ratione fecit credibile, et affectus quoque implevit. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

§ Æneid. l. 10. v. 782.

† Quid? Non idem poeta penitus ultimi fati cepit imaginem, ut diceret, *Et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos?* Ibid.

¶ Affectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mites atque compositos esse dixerunt: in altero vehementer commotos, in altero lenes: denique hos imperare, illos persuadere: hos ad perturbationem, illos ad benevolentiam prævalere. Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

* *ῥθος* id erit, quod ante omnia bonitate commendabitur: non solum

which is not to overthrow and carry away every thing, as it were, by main force; but to affect and soften, by insinuating itself gently into the most inward recesses of the auditors hearts. These passions are natural to those who are united in some strict union; a prince and his subjects, a father and his children, a tutor and his pupils, a benefactor, and those who receive the effects of his beneficence. Those passions consist, with superiors who have been injured, in a certain character of mildness, goodness, humanity, and patience which is without gall and bitterness; can bear injuries, and forget them, and which cannot resist prayers and tears: and with the culpable, in a readiness in being made sensible of their faults, acknowledging them, testifying their grief for them, humbling and submitting themselves, and giving all the satisfaction that can be desired. All this must be done after a plain and natural

solum mite ac placidum, sed plerumque blandum et humanum, et audientibus amabile atque jucundum. In quo exprimendo summa virtus ea est, ut fluere omnia ex natura rerum hominumque videantur, quo mores dicentis ex oratione pelluceant, et quodammodo agnoscantur. Quod est sine dubio inter conjunctas maxime personas, quoties perferimus, ignoscimus, satisfacimus, monemus, procul ab ira, procul ab odio. — Hoc omne bonum et comem virum poscit Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

Duo sunt, quae bene tractata ab oratore admirabilem eloquentiam faciunt: quorum alterum est quod Graeci ἡδύς vocant, ad naturam, et ad mores, et ad omnem vitae consuetudinem accommodatum: alterum quod iidem παθητικός nominant, quo perturbantur animi et concitantur, in quo uno regnat oratio. Illud superius come, jucundum, ad benevolentiam conciliandam comparatum; hoc, vehemens, incensum, incitatum, quo causae eripiuntur: quod cum rapide fertur, sustineri nullo pacto potest. Orat. n. 128.

Non semper fortis oratio quaeritur, sed saepe placida, summissa, lenis, quae maxime commendat reos. — Horum igitur exprimere mores oratione, justos, integros, religiosos, timidos, perferentes injuriarum, mirum quiddam valet: et hoc vel in principiis, vel in re narranda, vel in perorando, tantam habet vim. si est suaviter et cum sensu tractatum, ut saepe plus quam causa valeat. Tantum autem efficitur sensu quodam ac ratione dicendi, ut quasi mores orationis effingat oratio. Genere enim quodam sententiarum, et genere verborum, adhibita etiam actione leni, facilitateque significandi, efficitur ut probi, ut bene morati, ut boni viri esse videantur. 2 de Orat. n. 183, 184.

tural manner, without study and affectation; the air, the outward behaviour, the gesture, tone of voice, style, and every thing, must breathe something inexpressibly soft and tender, which proceeds from the heart, and goes directly to it. The manners of the person who speaks must shew themselves in his discourse without his observing it. 'Tis well known, that nothing is more amiable than such a character, not only for eloquence, but in the ordinary commerce of life; and we cannot prompt youth too much to be attentive to it, to study and imitate it.

* We find a beautiful example of this in a homily of St. John Chrysostom to the people of Antioch. As this passage is very eloquent, and very fit to form the taste of youth, suffer me to expatiate a little more upon it, than perhaps the matter I am now discussing requires; and to make a kind of an analysis and epitome of it.

The Emperor Theodosius had sent some officers and soldiers to Antioch, in order to punish that rebellious city for a sedition, in which his own statues and those of his deceased consort Flaccilla were thrown down. Flavian, bishop of Antioch, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, notwithstanding his very advanced age, and though his sister was dying when he left her, set out immediately to implore that prince's clemency in favour of his people. Being come to the palace, and admitted into the emperor's presence, he no sooner perceived that prince, but he stopped at a distance, with down-cast eyes, shedding tears, covering his face, and standing silent as though himself had been guilty. This is an artful exordium, and this silence is infinitely more eloquent than all the expressions he could use. And indeed St. Chrysostom observes, that by this mournful and pathetic exterior, his design was to prepare the way for his oration, and to insinuate himself into the emperor's heart insensibly, in order that sentiments of lenity and compassion, which

which his cause required, might succeed to those of anger and vengeance.

The emperor, seeing him in this condition, did not employ any harsh reproaches, which Flavian might naturally expect. He did not say to him, What! are you come to crave pardon for rebels, for ungrateful wretches, for a people unworthy of life, and who merit the severest punishments? But assuming a soft tone of voice, he made a long enumeration of all the good offices he had done the city of Antioch; and upon mentioning every one of those favours, he adds: Is this the acknowledgment I was to expect? What cause of complaint had its citizens against me? What injury had I done them? But why should they extend their insolence even to the dead? Had they received any wrong from them? What tenderness did I not shew for their city? Is it not notorious, that I loved it more than my own country, and that it gave me the greatest pleasure to think I should soon be in a condition of taking a journey to see it?

Then the holy bishop, being unable to bear such moving reproaches any longer, says with deep sighs: It is true, Sir, the goodness you have vouchsafed us could not be carried higher, which enhances our crime and our grief: whatever punishment you may inflict upon us, it will still fall short of what we deserve. Alas! our present condition is no common degree of punishment; to have the whole earth know our ingratitude!

If the barbarians had demolished our city, it would still have had a resource and some hopes, whilst it had you for a protector. But to whom shall it now have recourse, since it has made itself unworthy of your protection?

The envy of the devil, jealous of her happiness, has plunged her into this abyss of evils out of which you alone can extricate her. I dare say it, Sir, it is your very affection that has brought them upon us, by exciting the jealousy of that wicked spirit against us.

us. But, like God himself, you may draw infinite good out of the evil which Satan intended against us.

Your clemency on this occasion will be more honourable to you than the most celebrated victories. Your statues have been thrown down. If you pardon this crime, we will raise others in your honour, not of marble or brass, which time destroys, but such as will exist eternally in the hearts of all those who shall hear of this action.

He afterwards proposed the example of Constantine to him, who being importuned by his courtiers to display his vengeance on some seditious people that had disfigured his statues, by throwing stones at them, did nothing more than stroke his face with his hand, and told them smiling, that he did not feel himself hurt.

He sets before him his own clemency, and puts him in mind of one of his own laws, in which, after having ordered the prisons to be opened, and the criminals to be pardoned at the feast of Esther, he added this memorable saying; *Would to God I were able in the same manner to open the graves, and restore the dead to life!* That time is come, Sir, you can now do it, &c.

He makes the honour of religion concerned in this affair. All the Jews and Heathens, says he, have their eyes upon you, and are waiting for the sentence you will pronounce. If it is favourable to us, they will be filled with admiration, and cry out, Surely the God of the Christians must be very powerful! He checks the anger of those who acknowledge no master upon earth, and can transform men into angels.

After he had answered the objection that might be made with regard to the unhappy consequences which were to be feared, if this crime should escape with impunity; and likewise demonstrated, that Theodosius, by such a rare example of clemency, might edify the whole earth, and instruct all future ages, he proceeds thus :

It

It will be infinitely glorious for you, Sir, to have granted this pardon at the request of a minister of the Lord; and mankind will see, that, without considering the unworthiness of the ambassador, you respected nothing in him but the power of the Master who sent him.

For it is not only in the name of the inhabitants of Antioch that I appear in this place, I am come from the sovereign Lord of men and angels, to declare to you, that if you pardon men their faults, the heavenly Father will pardon yours. Call to mind, great prince, that tremendous day, when you will appear before the King of kings, to give an account of your actions. You are going to pronounce your own sentence. Other ambassadors used to display magnificent presents before the princes to whom they were sent: as for me, I offer nothing to your majesty but the holy book of the Gospels; and I dare exhort you to imitate your Master, who does good every day to those who insult him.

He at length concludes his discourse, by assuring the emperor, that if he refused that unfortunate city the pardon she sued for, he would never return to it, nor ever consider that city as his country, which the mildest prince upon earth looks upon with indignation, and could not prevail with himself to pardon.

Theodosius was not able to resist the force of this speech. He could scarce suppress his tears, and dissembling the emotion he was in, as much as possible, he spoke these few words to the patriarch: If Jesus Christ, God as he is, was willing to pardon the men who crucified him, ought I to make any difficulty to pardon my subjects who have offended me, I who am but a mortal man like them, and a servant of the same Master? Upon this Flavian prostrated himself, wishing him all the prosperity he deserved for this noble action. And as that prelate expressed a desire of passing the feast of Easter at Constantinople, Go, father, says Theodosius, embracing him, and do not delay

delay one moment the consolation which your people will receive by your return, and the assurances you will give of the pardon I grant them. I know they are still grieved and afraid. Go then, and carry the pardon of their crime for the feast of Easter. Pray that God may bless my arms, and be assured, that after this war I will go in person and comfort the city of Antioch.

The holy prelate set out immediately ; and to hasten the joy of the citizens, he dispatched a more expeditious courier than himself, who freed the city from its uneasiness and alarms.

I once more beg pardon for the length of this kind of digression. I imagined, that the extract of this eloquent homily might be as useful to youth, as any passage in profane authors. There would be room for many reflections, especially on two characters, which, though seemingly incompatible, are united, however, in Flavia's oration ; the humility and prostrate submission of a suppliant, with the magnificence and greatness of a bishop, but which are so modified, that they mutually support each other. We at first behold the bishop trembling, intreating, and, as it were, lying down at the emperor's feet. But afterwards, towards the end of the discourse, he appears invested with all the splendor and majesty of the Lord, whose minister he is. He commands, he threatens, he intimidates ; but still humble in his elevation. But I will content myself with the reflection which arises naturally from the subject that gave me occasion to relate this story. In my opinion these two discourses of Flavian and Theodosius may be proposed as an excellent model in this species of mild and tender passions. I do not pretend thereby to exclude the strong and violent ones with which they are sometimes blended ; but, if I am not mistaken, the former are predominant.

S E C T. III.

Of the ELOQUENCE of the BAR.

THE rules I have hitherto given upon eloquence, being for the most part borrowed from Cicero and Quintilian, who applied themselves chiefly in forming orators for the bar, might be sufficient for such young gentlemen as are designed for that honourable profession. I thought however that I was obliged to add some more particular reflections, which may serve them as guides, to point out to them the paths they are to follow. I shall first examine what models must be proposed to form the style suitable to the bar, and will afterwards speak of the means which youth may employ, to prepare themselves for pleading. And I shall conclude with collecting some of Quintilian's finest observations upon the manners and character of pleaders.

A R T I C L E I.

Of the Models of ELOQUENCE proper for the BAR.

HAD we the harangues and pleadings of the great number of able orators, who for some years have made the French bar so famous, and of those who still appear at it with so much lustre, we should be able to find in them certain rules and perfect models of eloquence. But the few performances we have of this kind oblige us to have recourse to the source itself; and to search in Athens and Rome for those things which the modesty of our orators (perhaps excessive in this respect) does not permit us to find at home.

Demosthenes and Cicero, by the consent of all ages and of all the learned, have been the most distinguished for the eloquence of the bar; and consequently their style may be proposed to youth, as a model they may safely imitate. It would be necessary, for that purpose, to make them well acquainted with it, to be careful in observing the character, and to make them sensible of the differences in it; but this cannot be done without reading and examining their works.

Those

Those of Cicero are in every one's hands, and therefore well enough known. But 'tis not so with Demosthenes's orations; and in an age so learned and polite as ours, it must seem astonishing, that since Greece has been always considered as the first and most perfect school of eloquence and good taste, we should be so careless, especially with regard to the bar, in consulting the great masters she has given us in that kind; and y that in case it was not thought necessary to bestow much time upon their excellent lessons, we should not, at least, have the curiosity to take but a cursory view of them; and hear them, as it were, at a distance, in order to examine ourselves if it be true, that the eloquence of those famous orators is as admirable as it is declared to be; and if it fully answers the reputation they have acquired.

In order to enable young people, and those who have not studied Greek, to form some idea of Demosthenes's style, I shall here transcribe several passages from his orations, which indeed will not be sufficient to exhibit that great orator in the glorious light he ought to be shewn, nor perhaps to give models of his eloquence in all its kinds; but they will contribute at least to display some part of him, and his principal characteristics. I shall add to this, some passages from the harangue which *Æschines*, his competitor and rival, pronounced against him, and borrow M. Turreil's translation; I mean the last, which is much more laboured, and more correct than the former ones. I shall however sometimes take the liberty to make a few small alterations, because on one hand, there are a great number of low and trivial ^z expressions in it,

R 2

and.

y Ego idem existimavi pecudis esse, non hominis, cum tantas res Græci susceperent, profiterentur, agerent—non admoveere aurems nec si palam audire eos non auderes, ne minueres apud tuos civet auctoritatem tuam, subauscultando tamen excipere voces eorum, e procul quid narrarent, attendere. 1 de Orat. n. 153.

^z Ce que nous demandions tous et à cor et à cri.—Le soin qu'ils ont de vous corner aux oreilles.—Si vous continuez à fainéanter.—Vous vous comportez au rebours de tous les autres hommes.—Vous ne cessez de m'aflaîner de clabauderies éternelles.—Ils vous.

esfame.

and on the other, the style is sometimes too swelling and bombastic^a; faults directly contrary to the character of Demosthenes, whose eloquence was at the same time very simple and very magnificent. M. de Maucroy has translated some of his orations. His version, though less correct in some passages, seems to me more agreeable to the genius of the Greek orator. I partly make use of it in the first extract I here give, which is taken from the first Philippic.

EXTRACTS

escamoteront les dix talens.—Vous amuser de fariboles.—Il se ménagea un prompt rapatriement.—Que si le cœur vous en dit, je vous cède la tribune.—Mais tout compté, tout rabattu.—Non, en dussiez-vous crever a force de l'assurer fausement.—Vous vous ennuiez des charcées d'injures.—*I relate these few examples, from amongst many others, in order to caution those who may read this translation, in other respects a very valuable performance, not to impute to the Greek orator, these and such like defects in expression.*

^a I shall quote but one place, taken from the third Philippic. De là il arrive que dans vos assemblées, au bruit flatteur d'une adulation continuelle, vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté: mais que dans les conjonctures et dans les événemens vous courez les derniers périls. *The original of the first part, which alone admits of any difficulty, runs thus: εἰς ὑμῶν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούοντιν.* Welfius translates it in this manner: Unde id consequimini, ut in concionibus fastidiatis, assentationibus deliniti, et omnia, quæ voluptati sunt, audiat. *This is the true sense of the words, and is accordingly followed by M. Maucroy.* Vous vous rendez difficiles dans vos assemblées: vous voulez y être flatés, et qu'on ne vous tienne que des propos agréables. Cependant cette délicatesse vous a conduits sur le bord du précipice. *What has deceived M. Tourreil, is the word τρυφᾶν, which is commonly rendered by deliciis abundare, dissuere, in deliciis vivere. Although it would bear this sense here, he ought not to have expressed it by these pompous terms: vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté: which, joined to what goes before, au bruit flatteur d'une adulation continuelle, forms a style quite opposite to that of Demosthenes, whose manly nervous eloquence does not admit of such ornaments. Luxury and the love of pleasure were not then the character of the Athenians; and besides, what connection could they have with the public assemblies? It is much more natural, that the Athenians, puffed up by the continual encomiums their orators made them, of their great power, their superior merit, the exploits of their ancestors, and, long accustomed to such flatteries, did on one hand look big in their assemblies, and assume haughty and disdainful airs towards an enemy whom they despised; though on the other, they were arrived at that degree of delicacy, that they would not suffer their orators to tell them the truth. For I think that τρυφᾶν may admit of a twofold sense in this place.*

E X T R A C T S

F R O M

DEMOSTHENES AND ÆSCHINES.

FROM THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC OF DEMOSTHENES.

M. Turreil places this harangue at the head of the rest.

DEMOSTHENES, in this oration, animates the Athenians with hopes of better success hereafter in the war against Philip, in case they will follow his example, by applying themselves seriously to the management of their affairs.

“ If you resolve, says he, to imitate Philip, which
 “ you have not done hitherto ; if every one will
 “ act with sincerity for the public good ; the wealthy by contributing part of their estates, and the
 “ young men by their swords ; in a word, if you
 “ will depend on yourselves only, and suppress that
 “ indolent disposition which ties up your hands, in
 “ expectation of some foreign succours ; you then
 “ will soon, by the assistance of the gods, retrieve
 “ your losses, and atone for your faults, and will
 “ be revenged of your enemies. For, do not think,
 “ gentlemen, that Philip is a god who enjoys immutable felicity. He is dreaded, hated and envied by those who are best affected to his interest ; and indeed, we must presume they have
 “ like passions with the rest of mankind. But all
 “ these sentiments seem at present extinguished, and
 “ that because your slow and indolent conduct gives
 “ them no opportunity of exerting themselves ; and
 “ it is to this you must apply a remedy..

B. 3.

“ For

“ For observe, gentlemen, the low condition to
 “ which you are reduced, and to what a height this
 “ man’s insolence is risen. He will not allow you
 “ the liberty of determining for peace or war. He
 “ threatens you ; he speaks, as it is said, with an ar-
 “ rogant and haughty tone : he is not satisfied with
 “ his former conquests, but is every day acquiring
 “ more ; and whilst you are dilatory and unactive,
 “ he surrounds and invests you on all sides.

“ When, gentlemen, when will you act as you
 “ ought to do ? What event do you wait for ?
 “ What necessity must compel you to it ? Alas ! is
 “ there not necessity sufficient at this very time ?
 “ For, in my opinion, none is more urgent to a free
 “ people, than when they are surrounded with shame
 “ and ignominy. Will you for ever do nothing but
 “ walk up and down the city, asking one another
 “ what news ? What news ! Is there any thing
 “ more new, than to see a man of Macedonia be-
 “ come master of the Athenians, and give laws to
 “ all Greece ? Is Philip dead, says one ? No, re-
 “ plies another, he is only sick. Whether he be
 “ sick or dead, what is that to the purpose ; since,
 “ were he no more, you would soon raise up ano-
 “ ther Philip by your bad conduct ? for his gran-
 “ deur is much more owing to your indolence,
 “ than to his own valour.”

EXTRACT *from the* SECOND OLYNTHIAN.

It is generally ranked the THIRD.

Demosthenes compares the present condition of
 the Athenians to the glory of their ancestors.

“ Our ancestors, who were neither flattered by
 “ their orators, nor loved by them, as you are by
 “ yours, governed Greece during sixty-five years,
 “ with the unanimous consent of the whole nation,
 “ put above ten thousand talents into the public trea-
 “ sury, exercised such a power over the king of Ma-

cedon,

cedon, as becomes the Greeks to exercise over a
Barbarian; raised great numbers of magnificent trophies for the victories they had gained in person both by sea and land; they only of the whole race of men transmitted to their posterity by their great exploits a glory superior to envy itself. Such were these personages, at that time, with regard to Greece. Let us now examine their public and private life in those days. Their magistrates erected many noble edifices for our use, and adorned our temples with such a number of rich ornaments, that none will be able to surpass them hereafter in magnificence. As to their private behaviour, they were so temperate, and adhered so strictly to our ancient simplicity of manners, that if any of you happens to know the houses inhabited once by Aristides, Miltiades, or any other of their illustrious contemporaries, he does not see them distinguished by their splendour from the others in their neighbourhood. For in the management of public affairs, they thought themselves obliged to aggrandize the state, and not their families. By this means they arrived at the meridian of felicity, and that deservedly, by faithfully consulting the common good of Greece, an exemplary piety towards the gods, and living with their fellow-citizens in a modest equality. Such was the condition of your fore-fathers, under such worthy leaders; but what is yours at this time under these soft-tongued orators who govern you? Does it bear the least resemblance to it? I will not insist upon the parallel, though the subject opens a large field-----

But some will answer me, and say, though things don't go on well abroad, they are in a much better condition at home. But what proofs can be brought of this? Why, some battlements have been whitened, some high-ways repaired, and some aqueducts built; with such like trifles. Cast your eyes, I beseech you, upon those men,

“ to

“ to whom you owe these rare monuments of their
 “ administration. Some of them were raised from
 “ poverty to affluence, others from obscurity to
 “ splendour; some again have built private houses
 “ so magnificent, that they seem to insult even the
 “ public edifices; and the lower the fortune of the
 “ state has sunk, the higher has that of such people
 “ risen. To what then must we impute this entire
 “ subversion of things in our days, and why is that
 “ wonderful order, which was formerly seen in all
 “ things, now changed for confusion? The reason
 “ is this: first, because the people at that time, ha-
 “ ving valour equal to military employments, kept
 “ the magistrates dependent on them, and had the
 “ entire disposal of all offices and favours; and eve-
 “ ry citizen thought it a merit to receive honours,
 “ employments, or good offices from the people.
 “ But now 'tis quite otherwise; for the magistrates
 “ confer all favours, and exercise a despotic power;
 “ while you, unhappy people, enervated and de-
 “ spoiled both of treasure and alliances, are merely
 “ but as so many lacqueys, and in a manner only a
 “ more numerous mob; and think yourselves dou-
 “ bly happy, if your magistrates do but indulge you
 “ the two oboli for the theatre, and the mean en-
 “ tertainment they provide for you upon rejoicing
 “ days. And to complete your baseness, you lavish
 “ the title of benefactors upon those who give you
 “ nothing but what is your own; and who, after
 “ imprisoning you, as it were, within your own
 “ walls, lay baits for and soften you in this manner,
 “ with no other view, but to prepare you for slavery.”

EXTRACT of the HARANGUE concerning the CHER-
 SONESUS..

The pensioners which Philip kept at Athens were
 perpetually endeavouring to find out expedients for
 disposing the people to peace; but Demosthenes dis-
 covers their treachery and artifices.

“ I shall

b " I shall only observe, that as soon as this discourse against Philip was begun, one of those mercenaries rose up and cried out, *What a blessed thing is peace! How difficult to support great armies! Our treasury is in danger*: and they amuse you with such discourses, by which they cool your zeal, and give Philip an opportunity of effecting his purposes without difficulty. . . . But it is not you who need to be persuaded to peace; you, I say, who being already but too much influenced that way, loiter here in indolence; 'tis that man who breathes nothing but war. . . . Besides, we ought not to consider what is employed for our safety as a hardship, but that which we shall suffer in case we neglect to secure ourselves in time. As to the squandering of the public monies, this must be remedied by proposing the best means of preventing it for the future, and not by persuading you to abandon entirely your own interest.

" As to myself, gentlemen, I am filled with indignation to see some of you make such a noise about squandering the public funds, (which may be rectified by punishing the offenders in an exemplary manner) because their private interest suffers by it; and not say one word, at the same time, of Philip, who plunders all Greece successively, and that to your prejudice. Whence can it proceed, gentlemen, that while Philip is displaying his banners in the face of the whole world, committing violences and seizing fortresses; none of these people has ever thought fit to say, that man acts unjustly, and commits hostilities? And that when you are advised not to suffer such outrages, but to put a stop to them, these very people cry out immediately, that you are going to kindle the flames of a war which were extinguished.

" What! shall we say again, that to advise you to defend yourselves, is kindling a war? If that

" be

b Towards the end of the harangue.

“ be the case, then there is nothing but slavery for
 “ you. For there is no other medium, if we ne-
 “ glect on the one hand to repel violence; and, on
 “ the other, the enemy will not grant us a truce.
 “ Our danger too differs very much from that of the
 “ other Greeks; for Philip will not be barely satis-
 “ fied with enslaving Athens, he will destroy it; for
 “ he knows very well you will never submit to sla-
 “ very; and that, though you would do this, you
 “ never could, for command and authority are ha-
 “ bitual to you; and besides, you will be capable of
 “ giving him more trouble and opposition than all
 “ the rest of the Greeks united, whenever you shall
 “ think fit to lay hold of any occasion to throw off
 “ the yoke. It must then be laid down as a certain
 “ maxim, that our whole fortune is at stake, and
 “ that you cannot too much abhor the mercenaries
 “ who have sold themselves to this man; for it is
 “ not possible, no, it is not, to vanquish your fo-
 “ reign enemies, till you have chastised your dome-
 “ stic foes, who are his pensioners; so that, whilst
 “ you will bulge against those as against so many
 “ rocks, you will never attempt to act against the
 “ other, till it be too late.”

From THE THIRD PHILIPPIC.

“ Make this reflection, I beseech you: you think
 “ the privilege of saying any thing is so inherent in
 “ every man who breathes the air of Athens, that you
 “ suffer foreigners and slaves to deliver their thoughts
 “ on every subject; insomuch that servants are here
 “ indulged a greater liberty in that particular than
 “ citizens in some other commonwealths. 'Tis from
 “ the *rostra* only that the freedom of speech is de-
 “ nied. Hence it is that you are grown so unac-
 “ countably haughty in your assemblies, and so diffi-
 “ cult to be pleased. You would always be flatter-
 “ ed in them, and hear nothing but what soothes
 “ you: and 'tis this pride and delicacy have brought
 “ you

“you to the brink of destruction. If then you remain still in the same disposition, I have nothing to do but to be silent. But if you can prevail with yourselves to listen to what is for your advantage without flattery, I am ready to speak. For notwithstanding the deplorable condition of our affairs, and the several losses we have sustained through our neglect, they may yet be retrieved, provided you determine to act as you ought in duty.

“You know, that whatever the Greeks suffered from the Lacedemonians or from us, they suffered by those who were Greeks as well as themselves; so that we may compare our faults to those of a son, who being born in a rich family, should err against some maxim of good œconomy. Such a son would justly deserve the reproachful name of a squanderer; but it could not be justly asserted, that he had seized upon another man’s right, or that he was not the lawful heir. But if a slave, or a supposititious child would seize an estate he had no manner of title to; just heavens! would not such an enormity raise the whole world against him? and would not they cry out with one voice, that it deserved exemplary punishment? But we do not consider Philip and his present conduct in that light. Philip, who, besides his not being a Greek, is noways allied to the Greeks by any kind of relation, and is not distinguished even amongst the Barbarians by any thing but his being denominated from the contemptible place whence he comes; and being a wretched Macedonian by his birth, came into the world in a corner whence we never buy even a good slave. Notwithstanding this, does he not treat you with the utmost indignity? Is it not arrived at its highest pitch? Not content, &c.”

The *extracts* which follow, being taken from the orations of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes de Corona*, it will be necessary to give the reader some idea of the subject. This Cicero informs us of in his preamble

to

to those two orations, when he translated them ; and this is the only fragment now remaining of that excellent work.

Demosthenes was entrusted with the care of repairing the walls of Athens, which he accomplished with great honour and reputation, having contributed a great deal of his own fortune towards it. Ctesiphon decreed a crown of gold to him on that account ; proposed it should be presented in the open theatre in a general assembly of the people ; and that the herald should proclaim it was to reward the zeal and probity of that orator. Æschines accused Ctesiphon, as having violated the laws by that decree. . . . c “ So extraordinary a contest raised the
“ curiosity of all Greece : people ran from all parts,
“ and with reason too. What finer sight than to see
“ two orators contending, each excelling in his own
“ way ; formed by nature, made perfect by art, and
“ besides, animated with a personal enmity to each
“ other.”

EXTRACTS of ÆSCHINES'S HARANGUE.

Æschines, after having represented in the beginning of the exordium, the irregularities introduced in the commonwealth, and their pernicious tendency, proceeds thus.

“ In such a situation of affairs, and in such disorders, of which you yourselves are sensible ; the
“ only method of saving the wrecks of the government, is, if I mistake not, to allow full liberty to
“ accuse those who have invaded your laws. But if
“ you shut them up, or suffer others to do this, I
“ prophesy that you will fall insensibly, and that very soon, under a tyrannical power. For you
“ know, gentlemen, that government is divided in-

“ to

c Ad hoc judicium concursus dicitur è tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causâ, accurata et inimicitiiis incensa contentio? Cic. de opt. gen. Orat. N. 22.

“to three kinds; monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. As to the two former, they are governed at the will and pleasure of those who reign in either; whereas established laws only reign in a popular state. That none of you therefore may be ignorant, but, on the contrary, that every one may be entirely assured, that the day he ascends the seat of justice, to examine an accusation upon the invasion of the laws, that very day he goes to give judgment upon his own independence. And indeed, the legislator who is convinced, that a free state can support itself no longer than the laws govern, takes particular care to prescribe this form of an oath to judges, *I will judge according to the laws.* The remembrance therefore of this, being deeply implanted in your minds, must inspire you with a just abhorrence of any persons whatsoever who dare transgress them by rash decrees; and that, far from ever looking upon a transgression of this kind, as a small fault, you always consider it as an enormous and capital crime. Do not suffer then, any one to make you depart from so wise a principle. . . . But as, in the army, every one of you would be ashamed to quit the post assigned him by the general; so, let every one of you be this day ashamed to abandon the post, which the laws have given you in the commonwealth. What post? that of protectors of the government.

This comparison, which is very beautiful and noble in itself, has a peculiar grace in this place, presenting, as it were, two faces to us; for at the same time that it affects the judges, it reflects strongly on Demosthenes's cowardice, against whom it points a satyrical stroke, which is the more delicate and malicious; the more remote it seems to be from all affectation. It is well known that he had abandoned his post and fled at the battle of Cheronæa. This judicious observation was made by M. Tourreil.

“Must we, in your person (addressing himself to Demosthenes) crown the author of the public calamities,

“lamities, or must we destroy him? And indeed,
“what unexpected revolutions, what unthought of
“catastrophes have we not seen in our days? . . . The
“king of Persia, that king who opened a passage
“through mount Athos; who bound the Hellespont
“in chains, who was so imperious as to command the
“Greeks to acknowledge him sovereign both of sea
“and land; who in his letters and dispatches presu-
“med to stile himself the sovereign of the world
“from the rising to the setting of the sun; and who
“fights now, not to rule over the rest of mankind,
“but to save his own life. Do not we see those very
“men, who signalized their zeal in the relief of Del-
“phos, invested both with the glory, for which that
“powerful king was once so conspicuous, and with
“the title of chief of the Greeks against him? As to
“Thebes, which borders upon Attica, have we not
“seen it disappear in one day from the midst of
“Greece? . . . And with regard to the unhappy La-
“cedemonians, what calamities have not befallen
“them only for taking but a small part of the spoils
“of the temple; they who formerly assumed a supe-
“riority over Greece, are they not now going to send
“ambassadors to Alexander’s court, to bear the name
“of hostages in his train, to become a spectacle of mi-
“sery; to bow the knee before the monarch, submit
“themselves and their country to his mercy; and re-
“ceive such laws as a conqueror, a conqueror they at-
“tacked first, shall think fit to prescribe them? Athens
“itself, the common refuge of the Greeks; Athens,
“formerly peopled with ambassadors, who flocked to
“claim its almighty protection, is not this city now
“obliged to fight, not to obtain a superiority over the
“Greeks, but to preserve itself from destruction?
“Such are the misfortunes which Demosthenes has
“brought upon us, since his intermeddling with the
“administration. . . .

“But you, who of all men are the most unfit to
“signalize yourselves by great and memorable ac-
“tions, and at the same time the fittest to distinguish
“yourselves

“ yourselves by rash speeches ; dare you, and that in
“ the presence of this august assembly, assert, that
“ we must bestow a crown, at your intercession, on
“ the person who has occasioned all the public cala-
“ mities ? And if this man shall presume so far, will
“ you suffer it, gentlemen, and shall the memory of
“ those great men who died in the field for their
“ country, die with them ? I beg you for a few mo-
“ ments, to convey yourselves in imagination from
“ the rostra to the theatre, and imagine you see the
“ herald advancing and proclaiming the crown de-
“ creed to Demosthenes. On which occasion do you
“ think, that the relations of those citizens, who
“ spilt their blood for you, ought to shed most tears ;
“ either for the tragical fate of those heroes which
“ I shall represent to you by and by, or for the e-
“ normous ingratitude of the Athenians ? Do not
“ lay open again the deep and incurable wounds of
“ the unhappy Thebans, who through Demosthenes
“ are become fugitives, and have been received by
“ you into this city. But since you were not pre-
“ sent at their catastrophe, endeavour, at least, to
“ form some image of it, and represent to your-
“ selves a city taken, walls levelled, houses reduced
“ to ashes, mothers and children dragged into sla-
“ very ; old men and women forced to be servants
“ at the end of their days ; drowned in tears, im-
“ ploring your justice, breaking out into reproaches,
“ not against the actors, but against the authors of
“ the cruel vengeance, which they felt ; earnestly
“ pressing you to be so far from conferring any kind
“ of reward upon the destroyer of Greece, that you
“ would preserve yourselves from the curse, the fa-
“ tality inseparable from his person.

“ Imagine then, gentlemen, when he shall invite
“ the confidants and accomplices of his abject persi-
“ dy to range themselves around him, towards the
“ close of his harangue, imagine then, gentlemen,
“ on your side, that you see the ancient benefactors
“ of this commonwealth drawn up in battle array,
“ round this rostra where I am now speaking, in or-

“ der to repulse that audacious band. Imagine you
 “ hear Solon, who strengthened the popular govern-
 “ ment by such excellent laws; that philosopher,
 “ that incomparable legislator, conjuring you with
 “ a gentleness and modesty becoming his character,
 “ not to set a higher value upon Demosthenes’s ora-
 “ torial flourishes than upon your oaths and your
 “ laws. Imagine you hear Aristides, who made so
 “ exact and just a division of the contributions im-
 “ posed upon the Greeks for the common cause;
 “ that sage dispenser, who left no other inheritance
 “ to his daughters, but the public gratitude, which
 “ was their portion; imagine, I say, you hear him
 “ bitterly bewailing the outrageous manner in which
 “ we trample upon justice, and speaking to you in
 “ these words: What! because when Arthmius of Ze-
 “ lia, that Asiatic, who passed through Athens, where
 “ he even enjoyed the rights of hospitality, brought
 “ gold from the Medes into Greece, your an-
 “ cestors were going to send him to the place of
 “ execution, and banished him, not only from their
 “ city, but from all the countries dependent on
 “ them; and will not you blush to decree Demos-
 “ thenes, who has not indeed brought gold from
 “ the Medes, but has received such sums of money
 “ from all parts to betray you, and now enjoys the
 “ fruit of his treasures; will not you, I say, blush
 “ to decree a crown of gold to Demosthenes? Do
 “ you think that Themistocles, and the heroes who
 “ were killed in the battles of Marathon and Platea;
 “ do you think, the very tombs of your ancestors
 “ will not send forth groans, if you crown a man
 “ who, by his own confession, has been for ever
 “ conspiring with Barbarians to ruin Greece?

“ As to myself, O Earth! O Sun! O Virtue! and
 “ you who are the springs of true discernment, lights
 “ both natural and acquired, by which we distinguish
 “ good from evil, I call you to witness, that I have
 “ used all my endeavours to relieve the state, and to
 “ plead her cause. I could have wished my speech

“ had

“ had been equal to the greatness and importance of
 “ the subject ; at least, I can flatter myself with ha-
 “ ving discharged my duty according to my abili-
 “ ties, if I have not done it according to my wishes.
 “ Do you, gentlemen, from the reasons you have
 “ heard, and those which your wisdom will suggest ;
 “ do you pronounce such a judgment, as is confor-
 “ mable to strict justice, and the common good de-
 “ mands from you.”

EXTRACTS of DEMOSTHENES'S HARANGUE for
 CTESIPHON.

“ I begin with intreating all the gods and all the
 “ goddesses, that they would inspire you, gentle-
 “ men, in this cause with a benevolence towards me,
 “ proportionate to my constant zeal for the com-
 “ monwealth in general; and for every one of you
 “ in particular: afterwards, (which is of the utmost
 “ consequence to your persons, your consciences,
 “ and your honour) I crave of the same deities,
 “ that they would fix you in the resolution of con-
 “ sulting upon the manner of hearing me, not my
 “ accuser, (for you could not do that without par-
 “ tiality;) but your laws and your oaths, the form
 “ of which, among other terms, (all dictated by
 “ justice) is as follows: *Hear both parties equally;*
 “ which obliges you to come with an-unbiaſſed mind
 “ and heart to the tribunal, and to allow each of
 “ the parties to draw up his reasons and proofs, in
 “ whatever manner he shall think fit d.

“ Now, gentlemen, among the many disadvanta-
 “ ges on my side in this cause, there are two parti-
 “ cularly, and two very terrible ones, which make
 “ my condition much worse than his. The first is,
 “ that we run very unequal risques; for now I ha-
 “ zard much more in losing your good will, than he
 “ does, should he fail to make good the charge;
 “ since I am to But I will not suffer one word

S. 3.

“ to

d Æschines pretended to point out the order which Demosthenes was to observe in his pleading.

“ to fall from me in the beginning of my discourse,
 “ that presages any thing sinister. He, on the con-
 “ trary, attacks me through wantonness, and with-
 “ out any necessity for so doing. The other disad-
 “ vantage I lie under, is, that all men are naturally
 “ inclinable to hear an accuser with pleasure; while,
 “ on the other hand, they hear those who boast or
 “ magnify themselves with indignation. He there-
 “ fore acts a part that pleases universally; whereas
 “ almost every thing which falls to my lot, is what
 “ generally makes every man an enemy. But if, on
 “ one hand, the fear of incurring indignation,
 “ which is inseparable from self-applause, should
 “ oblige me to be silent on my own actions; it will
 “ be thought that I can neither refute him who re-
 “ proaches me with crimes, nor justify the person
 “ who decrees rewards for me. On the other, if I
 “ should discuss the services I have done during my
 “ administration, I shall be forced to speak of my-
 “ self frequently. I shall therefore endeavour, in
 “ this dangerous dilemma, to behave with all possi-
 “ ble moderation; but whatever the necessity of my
 “ own defence may extort from me, this ought in
 “ justice to be imputed only to the aggressor, who
 “ voluntarily imposed it upon me.

“ But in spite of those facts, incontestible, and
 “ certified, as it were, by the mouth of truth itself,
 “ Æschines has so far renounced all shame, that not
 “ content to proclaim me the author of such a
 “ peace as he has mentioned, he is so audacious as
 “ to tax me likewise with preventing the common-
 “ wealth from concerting it with the general assem-
 “ bly of the Greeks. . . . But did you, O! . . .
 “ (what title shall I give you?) did you betray the
 “ least shadow of displeasure against me, when I
 “ broke the chords of that harmony in your pre-
 “ sence, and disposseised the commonwealth of
 “ the advantages of that confederacy, which you
 “ magnify so much, with the loudest strains of
 “ your theatrical voice? Did you ascend the rof-
 “

“trum?”

* Æschines had been a comedian.

“ trum ? Did you denounce, or once explain those
“ crimes, with which you are now pleased to charge
“ me ? Surely then, if I could have forgot my duty
“ so far, as to sell myself to Philip, in order to ex-
“ clude the Greeks from participating in that peace ;
“ you ought then to have exclaimed, protested, and
“ discovered my prevarications to those who now
“ hear me ; but you never did any thing of this
“ kind, nor did any person living hear you say one
“ syllable tending this way. . . .

“ But if Philip was constantly depriving all states,
“ without exception, of their honour, prerogatives,
“ liberty, or rather subverting as many common-
“ wealths as he could ; did not you, gentlemen,
“ form those very arguments which undoubtedly
“ were the most glorious to you, through your re-
“ gard for my advice ? Tell us, *Æschines*, how *A-*
“ *thens* should have behaved in Philip’s sight, when
“ he set all engines at work, to establish his empire
“ and tyranny over the Greeks ? Or what counsels
“ and resolutions should I, who was the minister,
“ have proposed ; especially in Athens ; (for the
“ circumstances of place require a particular atten-
“ tion) : I, who was intimately sensible, that my
“ country had at all times, even till the day I first
“ ascended the tribunal, perpetually fought for su-
“ periority, for honour and glory ; and that it alone
“ had, through a noble emulation, sacrificed more
“ men and money for the general good of the
“ Greeks, than any other of the Grecian states had
“ ever sacrificed for their own private advantage ? I,
“ who besides saw this same Philip, with whom we
“ contended for sovereignty and empire ; saw him,
“ though covered with wounds, his eye beat out, his
“ collar-bone broke, his hand and leg maimed, still
“ resolved to plunge himself amidst dangers, and rea-
“ dy to give up to fortune whatever other part of his
“ body she should require, provided he could live
“ honourably and gloriously with the remainder ?
“ Now, certainly no man dares to say, that a barba-
“ rian,

" rian educated in Pella (then a contemptible and
 " obscure place) could possibly possess a soul haugh-
 " ty enough to desire and undertake the conquest
 " of the Greeks: But for you, though Athenians,
 " for you who every day hear the virtue of your
 " ancestors displayed, either by your orators in the
 " rostra, or by your actors upon the stage; for
 " you, I say, to carry meanness of soul and cow-
 " ardice so far, as to abandon and make a volunta-
 " ry surrender of the liberties of Greece to Philip;
 " no man living will ever be so audacious as to
 " make such a strange proposal.

" Censure me, Æschines, for the advice I gave,
 " do not asperse me for the event: for the supreme
 " Being unravels and terminates every thing at plea-
 " sure; whereas we must judge from the nature of
 " the advice or opinions themselves, of him who gives
 " them. If therefore Philip has been a conqueror,
 " do not impute it to me as a crime, since God dis-
 " posed of the victory, and not I. But shew me
 " what it is that I did not pursue with an integrity,
 " a vigilance and an indefatigable activity, superior
 " to my strength; shew me, that I did not practise
 " all the expedients which human prudence could
 " employ; that I did not inspire noble and necessary
 " resolutions, and such as were worthy of Athens;
 " and after this give a full scope to your accusations.
 " But if a sudden thunder-bolt or a tempest should
 " strike you to the ground, gentlemen, and not only
 " you, but all the rest of the Grecians, how can this
 " be helped? Must the innocent be sacrificed? If
 " the owner of a vessel had fitted it out with every
 " thing necessary, and provided to the utmost of his
 " power against the dangers of the sea; and that a
 " storm should afterwards arise and break the masts,
 " would any one in that case accuse him with being
 " the cause of the shipwreck? But he would say, I
 " did not command the vessel. Nor did I command
 " the army: I did not dispose of fortune; on the
 " contrary, it was fortune disposed of every thing.

" Since

“ Since therefore he insists so strenuously upon c-
“ vents, I am not afraid of advancing a kind of pa-
“ radox. Let none of us, in the name of Jupiter and
“ the other gods, be startled at the apparent hyper-
“ bole, but let him examine equitably what I am go-
“ ing to say. For if all the Athenians had disco-
“ vered future events by a prophetic spirit ; that all
“ had foreseen them, and that you, *Æschines*, who
“ did not speak a single word, had foretold and cer-
“ tified them with your thunder-like voice : Athens,
“ even in that case, ought not to have changed its
“ measures, had it ever so little regard to its glory,
“ its ancestors, or the judgment of posterity. For
“ now Athens seems, at most, to be fallen from its
“ greatness ; a misfortune common to all mortals,
“ whenever it so pleases the supreme Being. But a
“ commonwealth, that thought itself at that time
“ worthy of a superiority over all the rest of the
“ Greeks, could not part with such a right, without
“ incurring the just reproach of delivering them all
“ up to Philip : since in case Athens had quitted,
“ without a blow, a prerogative which our ancestors
“ had purchased at all hazards ; how would you,
“ *Æschines*, have been covered with shame ! For
“ most certainly, that shame could not have reflected
“ either upon the commonwealth or upon me. Great
“ God ! with what eyes could we look upon this in-
“ numerable multitude which come from all parts to
“ Athens, if things had been brought to the low ebb
“ we now see them at, by our fault or wrong ma-
“ nagement ; had we chosen Philip as the chief and
“ arbiter of all Greece ; had we suffered others to
“ hazard a battle without us, in order to prevent
“ such a calamity ; especially since we call ourselves
“ inhabitants of a city, which chose at all times, ra-
“ ther to brave glorious dangers, than enjoy an ig-
“ nominious security. For what Greek, what Bar-
“ barian, does not know, that the Thebans, and be-
“ fore them the Lacedemonians, when arrived at
“ the meridian of power, and, lastly, the Persian
“ king,

“king, would have willingly granted the common-
 “wealth, not only the enjoyment of its own posses-
 “sions, but likewise every thing it could desire, pro-
 “vided it could have descended to submit, and suf-
 “fer any other to govern Greece? But such senti-
 “ments could not be admitted by Athenians, (as
 “appeared on those occasions) either as hereditary,
 “supportable or natural. And since the first foun-
 “dation of Athens, none could ever force it to
 “make any abject submissions to tyrannical power,
 “though superior in strength; nor to gain a base
 “security by fervile concessions. On the contrary,
 “as Athens was in immemorial possession of fighting
 “for sovereignty, for honour and for glory; so it
 “has at all times braved the greatest dangers.----If
 “therefore I should attempt to insinuate, that my
 “counsels determined you to think like worthy de-
 “scendants of your predecessors, every one might
 “tax me justly with arrogance. But I declare in
 “this place, that if you formed such resolutions,
 “the glory of them is yours; and I own, that the
 “commonwealth had great and magnanimous senti-
 “ments long before my time. The only thing I can
 “boast of, is, that I co-operated in every thing that
 “fell to my share in the ministry.

“By the way, gentlemen, a citizen naturally vir-
 “tuous, (for when I speak of myself, I make use of
 “no other word, to avoid envy) possesses these two
 “qualities. A steady and unshaken courage in the
 “exercise of authority, to support the commonwealth
 “in its superiority; and a zeal that has been proof
 “against every thing, in every conjuncture and par-
 “ticular action. For these sentiments depend ^f up-
 “on us, being the gift of nature; but as to force and
 “power, those we derive from other causes. Now
 “certainly, that this zeal was never falsified in me,
 “judge of it by my actions. My zeal for you was
 “never lessened on any occasion, no, not when my
 “head was demanded; nor when I was delivered up

* That was the doctrine of the Stoics.

“to the Amphyctyons, nor when the greatest efforts
“were made to stagger me with threats, nor when
“endeavours were used to allure me with promises,
“nor when these cursed wretches, like so many wild
“beasts, were let loose upon me. As to the govern-
“ment, no sooner had I a share in it, than I fol-
“lowed the direct and just methods of preserving
“the strength, glory and prerogatives of my coun-
“try; augmenting them, and devoting myself en-
“tirely to that study. Thus, when I find other
“powers prosper, I am never seen walking in the
“Forum, with a serene and contented aspect, sa-
“luting people with my hand, and telling good news
“with a congratulating voice to those who, I be-
“lieve, will afterwards send it to Macedonia; nor
“am I seen trembling, sighing and with down-cast
“eyes, upon hearing the success of the Athenians,
“like those impious wretches who defame the com-
“monwealth; as though they did not defame them-
“selves by such courses. They have always their
“eye abroad, and when they see any potentate ta-
“king advantage of our misfortunes, they magnify
“his successes, and give out, that all endeavours
“should be used to eternize his victories.

“Immortal gods! let none of you hear such vows
“as these; but rather rectify the minds and hearts
“of such perverse men. But if their inveterate
“malice is incurable, pursue them both by sea and
“land, and extirpate them totally. As to us Athe-
“nians; avert, as soon as possible, the calamities
“which threaten us, and grant us entire security.”

The Success of the two Orations.

Æschines lost his cause, and was banished for his rash accusation. He settled at Rhodes, and set up a school of eloquence, which maintained its glory for several ages. He began his lectures with the two orations which had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to his; but when that of Demosthenes was read, the acclamations were redoubled.

doubled. ^g And it was upon this occasion he said, (so laudable in an enemy and a rival) But how wonderful would you have found it, had you heard it from his own mouth?

I did not pretend, that the passages I have now borrowed from the harangues of Æschines and Demosthenes, could alone give a just idea of those two great orators; for the most essential part of eloquence, and, as it were, the soul of it, must necessarily be wanting in extracts taken from the body of the entire work. We neither see plan, design, order, or series of the oration in those extracts; nor the strength, connexion or disposition of the proofs: the marvellous art by which the orator sometimes insinuates himself gently into peoples hearts; and sometimes enters with a kind of violence, and makes himself absolute master over them. Besides, no translation can give the Attic purity, eloquence and delicacy, of which the Greek language only is susceptible, and which Demosthenes had carried to the highest perfection. I had no other view in copying these extracts, but to enable such readers as have not studied Greek, to form some idea of the style of those two orators. The advantageous judgments which the best writers in all ages have given us of it, will likewise contribute to shew their character; and may perhaps inspire us with the desire of taking a nearer view of persons of such uncommon merit, of whom so many wonders are related. M. de Tourreil has collected several, some of which I shall relate in this place.

I.

The Judgments of the Ancients on Æschines and Demosthenes.

^h Quintilian, whose opinion is no less clear than equitable, speaks of them in this manner: “ⁱ A crowd

^g Valer. Max. lib. 8. c. 20.

^h Lib. 10. c. 1.

ⁱ Sequitur oratorum ingens manus. . . . quorum longe princeps Demosthenes, ac pene lex orandi fuit. Tanta vis in eo, tam densa omnia

“ of orators arose afterwards, of whom Demosthe-
 “ nes was the chief; the standard which every one
 “ must ^k necessarily follow who aspires to true elo-
 “ quence. His style is so strong, so close, and ^l ner-
 “ vous: ’tis every where so just, so exactly concise,
 “ that there’s nothing too much or too little. *Æs-*
 “ *chines* is more diffusive; he makes a greater fi-
 “ gure, because he is not so close: he discovers a
 “ greater flush of health, but his sinews are not so
 “ strong and well compacted.

“ ^m What distinguishes the eloquence of Demo-
 “ sthenes, is the impetuosity of the expression, the
 “ choice of words, and the beauty of the dispositi-
 “ on; which being supported throughout, and ac-
 “ companied with force and sweetness, keeps the
 “ attention of the auditors perpetually fixed. *Æs-*
 “ *chines* indeed is less energetic; but he distinguishes
 “ himself by his diction, which he sometimes adorns
 “ with the most noble and magnificent figures; and
 “ sometimes seasons with the most lively and strong
 “ touches. We don’t discover any art or labour in
 “ them; a happy facility, which nature only can
 “ bestow, runs through the whole. He is bright
 “ and solid; he enlarges and amplifies, but is often
 “ close; so that his style, which at first seems only
 “ flowing and sweet, discovers itself, upon a nearer
 “ view, to be vehement and emphatic, in which De-
 “ mosthenes only surpasses him; so that *Æschines*
 “ justly claims the second place among orators.

Vol. II.

T

“ I re-

omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt, tam nihil otiosum, is di-
 cendi modus, ut nec quod desit in eo, nec quod redundet, invenias.
 Plenior *Æschines*, et magis fusus, et grandiori similis, quo minus
 strictus est. Carnis tamen plus habet, lacertorum minus.

^k Quintilian did not venture to say absolutely, that Demosthenes’s
 orations were the standard of eloquence; he has softened the re-
 flection, *pene lex orandi fuit.*

^l Tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt. *Il est si*
ferre, si nerveux. I do not know whether this metaphor is bor-
 rowed from the nerves of the body, or from a bow, the string of
 which being strongly stretched (*nervi*) pushes the arrow forward
 with a prodigious force and impetuosity.

^m Dion. Halicarn. in his book called τῶν ἀρχαίων κριτής, cap. 5.

“ⁿ I remember, says Cicero, that I preferred Demosthenes to all other orators. He is adequate to the idea I had formed to myself of eloquence; he attained to that degree of perfection which I conceive in thought, but find nowhere, except in him alone. Never had any orator more greatness and strength, more art and cunning, nor more prudence and moderation in his ornaments. He excels in every kind of eloquence. . . .
 “^o He possesses all the qualifications necessary for forming the orator. He is perfect. Whatever penetration, whatever refinement, whatever artifice, as it were, and cunning, can suggest on any subject; these he finds and employs with a justness, a brevity, and clearness, which give us a satisfaction, to which nothing can add. Are elevation, greatness and vehemence necessary? He surpasses all others in the sublimity of his thoughts, and the magnificence of his expressions. He is incontestably the first; none equals him. Hyperides, Æschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades, have no other merit but that of coming nearest to him.

“^p That harangue (says Cicero in another place, speaking of Ctesiphon's defence) answers so effectually to the idea I have formed of perfect eloquence, that we can wish nothing more finished.”

Before

^a Recordor me longe omnibus unum anteferre Demosthenem, qui vim accommodavit ad eam quam sentiam eloquentiam, non ad eam quam in aliquo ipse cognoverim. Hoc nec gravior extitit quicquam, nec callidior, nec temperatior. . . . Unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi. Orat. n. 23 et 104.

• Plane quidem perfectum, et cui nihil admodum desit, Demosthenem facile dixeris. Nihil acute inveniri potuit in eis causis quas scripsit, nihil (ut ita dicam) subdole, nihil versute, quod ille non viderit; nihil subtiliter dici, nihil presse, nihil enucleate, quo fieri possit aliquid limatius: nihil contra grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel verborum gravitate, vel sententiarum, quo quidquam esset elatius, &c. Brut. n. 35.

^p Ea profecto oratio in eam formam, quae est insita in mentibus nostris, includi sic potest, ut major eloquentia non quaeratur. Orat.

Before I proceed to the character of Cicero's eloquence, I think myself obliged to add here some reflections upon that of Demosthenes.

It would, in my opinion, be renouncing of good sense and sound reason, to call in question the superior merit of the Greek orator, after the incredible success he had in his time, and the noble encomiums which the best judges have been, in a manner, contending to bestow upon him.

He spoke before the most polite people that ever lived, and the most delicate, and difficult to be pleased in point of eloquence; a people so well acquainted with the beauties and graces of speech, and the purity of diction, that their orators durst not venture to use any doubtful or uncommon expression, or any which might be the least offensive to such nice and refined ears. Besides, he lived in an age when the taste of the beautiful, the true, and the simple was in its utmost perfection. ^r Thrice happy age! which gave birth to a multitude of orators at the same time, every one of whom might have been looked upon as a complete model, had not Demosthenes eclipsed them all, by the strength of his genius, and the extraordinary superiority of his merit.

All posterity have done him the same justice, which even his own age did not deny him. But Cicero's judgment alone should determine that of every judicious and equitable man. He is not a stupid admirer who gives himself up to blind prejudices without examination. But how much soever, in Cicero's opinion, Demosthenes excelled in every species

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cies

^r Atheniensium semper fuit prudens sincerumque judicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum audire et elegans. Eorum religioni cum serviret orator, nullum verbum insolens, nullum odiosum ponere audebat. . . . Ad Atticorum aures teretes et religiosas qui se accommodant, ii sunt existimandi Attice dicere. Orat. n. 25, et 27.

^r Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem simul Athenis atas una tulerit: quorum longe princeps Demosthenes, ac pene lex orandi fuit. Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1.

cies of eloquence, ^s he still owns that he does not satisfy him in every particular, and that he left him something to wish for; so delicate was he upon that point, and so sublime and elevated was his idea of a perfect orator. However he gives his orations, and especially that for Ctesiphon, which was his master-piece, as the most finished models we can propose to ourselves.

What is there then in his orations that is so admirable, and could seize the universal and unanimous applause of all ages? Is Demosthenes an orator who amuses himself barely with tickling the ear, by the sound and harmony of periods; or does he impose upon the mind by a florid style and shining thoughts? Such eloquence may indeed dazzle and charm the moment we hear it, but the impression it makes is of a short duration. What we admire in Demosthenes is the plan, the series, and the order and disposition of the oration; it is the strength of the proofs, the solidity of the arguments, the grandeur and nobleness of the sentiments and of the style; the vivacity of the turns and figures: in a word, ^t the wonderful art of representing the subjects he treats, in all their lustre, and displaying them in all their strength; in which, according to Quintilian, that just eloquence chiefly consists, which is not satisfied with representing things as they really are, but heightens them by lively and animated touches, which only are capable of affecting and moving the passions of the auditors. But that which distinguishes Demosthenes still more, and in which no one has imitated him, is, that he drops him-
self

^s *Usono eo difficiles ac morosi sumus, ut nobis non satisfaciat ipse Demosthenes: qui, quanquam unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi, tamen non semper implet aures meas, ita sunt avidae et capaces, et semper aliquid inmensum infinitumque desiderant. Orat. n. 194.*

^t *In hoc eloquentiae vis est, ut judicem non ad id tantum impellat, in quod ipse a rei natura duceretur: sed aut qui non est, aut majorem quam est, faciat affectum. Haec est illa quae *selvatis* vocatur, rebus indignis, asperis, invidiosis addens vim oratio: qua virtute praeter alios plurimum Demosthenes valuit. Quintil. l. 6. c. 2.*

self so entirely ; is always so scrupulous in avoiding every thing that might look like a shew or parade of wit and genius ; and so careful to make the auditor attend to the cause and not to the orator ; that no expression, turn or thought ever escape him, such, I mean, as are calculated merely to please or shine. This reservedness, this moderation, in so fine a genius as Demosthenes, and in topics so susceptible of graces and elegance, raises his merit to its highest pitch, and is superior to all encomiums. M. Tour-reil's translation, though generally very just, does not always preserve that inimitable character, and we sometimes meet with ornaments in it which are not found in the original.

The reader will not take it amiss, if I support what I have declared of Demosthenes's style, by the opinion of two illustrious moderns, which ought to have as much weight as those of the ancients.

The first is from the archbishop of Cambray's dialogues upon eloquence, which are very proper to form the taste, by the judicious reflections with which they abound. He thus speaks of Demosthenes, in his comparison between him and Isocrates. "Isocrates is full of florid and effeminate orations, and with periods laboured with infinite pains to please the ear ; whilst Demosthenes moves, warms, and seizes the heart. The latter is too much concerned for his country, to amuse himself, like Isocrates, in playing upon words : he argues closely, and his sentiments are those of a soul that conceives nothing but great ideas : his discourse improves and gathers strength, at every word, from the new arguments he employs. It is a chain of bold and moving figures. Every reader sees plainly, that his whole soul is fixed on his country. Nature herself speaks in his transports, and art is so exquisite in what he says, that it does not appear. Nothing was ever equal to his impetuosity and vehemence." I shall soon quote another passage from M. Fenelon, which is still more beautiful, wherein he compares Demosthenes to Cicero.

My second authority is M. de Turreil, who had studied Demosthenes long enough, to discover his character, and the genius of his writings. "I allow, says he, that we do not find in Æschines that air of rectitude, that impetuosity of style, that force of transcendent veracity which forces the consent by the weight of conviction; a talent that leaves Demosthenes without an equal, and which he applies in a singular manner. Whether he calms or ruffles the mind, we do not find ourselves in any disorder, but think we are obeying the dictates of nature. Whether he persuades or dissuades, we do not perceive any thing that offers violence, but we think we are obeying the commands of reason; for this orator always speaks like nature and reason, and has properly no other style but theirs. Whatever he says flows from that spring. He avoids even the shadow of redundancy. He has no far-fetch'd embellishments nor flowers. He loves nothing but fire and light. He will not employ glittering weapons, but such only as will do execution. This, in my opinion, is the foundation of that victorious impetuosity which subdued the Athenians, and places Demosthenes above all the orators who ever lived.

"A peculiar energy, says the same author in another place, constitutes his character, and sets him above equality. His discourse is a series of inductions, conclusions, and demonstrations, formed by common sense. His reasoning, of which the force perpetually encreases, rises by degrees and with precipitation, to the pitch he would carry it. He attacks openly, he pushes forward, and at last reduces the auditor to such streights, that there's no further retreat for him. But on this occasion the auditor, far from being ashamed of his defeat, feels the pleasure which submitting to reason affords. *Isocrates*, said Philip, *pushes only with a file, but Demosthenes fights with the sword.* . . . We see in him a man who has no other enemies but those of the state, nor

"any

"any passion but the love of order and justice. A
"man, whose aim is not to dazzle, but to inform;
"not to please, but to be useful. He employs no
"other ornaments, but such as grow out of his sub-
"ject; nor any flowers, but those he finds in his
"way. One would conclude, that he desired no-
"thing farther than to be understood, and that he
"gained admiration without seeking it. Not that
"he is devoid of graces, but then they are those on-
"ly of an austere kind, and such as are compatible
"with the candour and ingenuity he professed. In
"his writings, truth is not set off with paint, nor
"does he make it effeminate with intent to adorn it;
"no kind of ostentation, or retrospect upon him-
"self; he neither shews nor regards himself, but is
"entirely confined to his cause; and his cause is al-
"ways the preservation or advantage of his coun-
"try."

II.

Of Cicero's Eloquence compared with that of Demosthenes.

"Two orators, though very different in stile and character, may yet be equally perfect; so that it would not be easy to determine, which of them we should chuse to resemble.

Perhaps this rule, with which Cicero furnishes us, may be of service in the judgment we are to form between him and Demosthenes.

Both excelled in the three kinds of writing, as every one must do who is truly eloquent. They knew how to vary their stile as their subjects varied: sometimes simple and subtle * in causes of small consequence, in narrations and proofs; and at others, adorned and embellished, when there was a necessity

* In his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est, posse esse summos, qui inter se sint dissimiles. . . . Ita dissimiles erant inter se, statuere ut tamen non posses utrius te malles similiorem. Brut. n. 204. et 148.

* Je me sers ici de ce mot, quoique dans notre langue il porte un autre idée que le *subtilis* des Latins.

ty of pleasing; sometimes elevated and sublime, when the dignity of the subject required it. * Cicero makes this remark, and he quotes for examples Demosthenes and himself.

Quintilian has drawn a fine parallel between these two orators. y "The qualities, says he, on which eloquence is founded, were alike in both; such as the design, the order, the disposition, the division, the method of preparing the auditors, and the proving; and, in a word, every thing that is relative to invention.

"z But there is some difference in their style. The one is more concise, the other more diffusive; the one pushes closer to his adversary, the other allows him a larger spot to fight upon. The one is always endeavouring to pierce him as it were, with the vivacity of his style; the other often bears him down with the weight of his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the one, nor added to the other. Demosthenes has more care and study, and Cicero more nature and genius.

"a As to raillery and exciting commiseration, both which are of vast effect in eloquence, Cicero has undoubtedly the advantage in these.

"b But he yields to him in this respect, viz. that Demosthenes lived before him, and that Cicero, though

* In Orat. n. 102, 103, et 110, 111.

y Horum ego virtutes plerasque arbitror similes: consilium: ordinem: dividendi, praeparandi, probandi rationem; omnia denique quae sunt inventionis. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

z In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas. Densior ille, hic copiosior. Ille concludit astrictius, hic latius pugnatur. Ille * acumine semper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil adjici. Curae plus in illo, in hoc naturae.

a Salibus certe et commiseratione (qui duo plurimum affectus valent) vincimus.

b Cedendum verò in hoc quidem, quod et ille prior fuit, et ex magna parte Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit. Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius, cum se totum ad imitationem Graecorum contulisset, effinxisse

* The translator has thus rendered this passage, L'un est toujours subtil dans la dispute, &c. I do not think that subtilty is meant here, but believe that the metaphor is borrowed from a sword.

“ though a very extraordinary man, owes part of
 “ his merit to the Athenian orator. For my opi-
 “ nion is, that Cicero having bent all his thoughts
 “ to the Greeks, in order to form himself upon
 “ their model, compounded his character out of
 “ Demosthenes’s strength, Plato’s copiousness, and
 “ Isocrates’s sweetness. And such was his applica-
 “ tion, that he not only extracted every thing ex-
 “ traordinary from those great originals, but produ-
 “ ced, as it were, by the happy fruitfulness of his
 “ divine genius, the greatest part of those very per-
 “ fections, or rather all of them. For to use an
 “ expression of Pindar, he does not collect the wa-
 “ ters of heaven to remedy his natural driness, but
 “ finds a spring of living water within himself,
 “ which is ever flowing with vehemence and impe-
 “ tuosity; and one would conclude that the gods
 “ had given him to the world, in order that elo-
 “ quence might exert her utmost strength in the
 “ person of this great man.

“ c And indeed, what man was ever more exact
 “ in instructing, or moved the passions with greater
 “ force? What orator has such a profusion of
 “ charms as him we are speaking of? These are so
 “ great, that we think we grant him what he forces
 “ from us; and when he hurries away the judges by
 “ his impetuosity, as with a torrent, they think they
 “ follow him of their own accord, at the very time
 “ they

effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Mocratis. Nec vero quod in quoque optimum fuit studio consecutus est tantum, sed plurimas vel potius omnes ex se ipso virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissima ubertas. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiae genitus, in quo totas vires suas eloquentia experiretur.

“ Nam quis docere diligentius, movere vehementius potest? Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affuit? ut ipsa illa quae extorquet, impetrare eum credas, et cum transversum vi sua judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, sed sequi. Jam in omnibus quae dicit tanta auctoritas inest, ut dissentire pudeat; nec advocati studium, sed testis aut judicis afferat fidem. Cum interim haec omnia, quae vix singula quisquam intentissima cura consequi posset, fluunt illaborata: et illa, qua nihil pulchrius auditu est, oratio prae se fert tamen felicissimam facilitatem.

“ they are forced along. Besides, he delivers himself with so much reason and weight, that we are ashamed to differ in opinion from him? We do not find in him the zeal of the lawyer, but the integrity of a witness and of a judge. And these several particulars, every one of which would cost another infinite pains, flow naturally, and, as it were, of themselves from him; so that his manner of writing, though so beautiful and inimitable, is nevertheless so easy and natural, that one would conclude it had not cost him any pains.

“^d His contemporaries therefore had reason to say, that he exercised a kind of empire at the bar. And it was but justice in those who succeeded him, to esteem him so highly, that the name of Cicero is now less the name of a man, than of eloquence itself. Let us therefore keep our eyes perpetually upon him; let this orator be our model; and we may depend that we have made a great improvement when we love, and have a taste for Cicero.”

Quintilian did not dare to form a judgment upon these two great orators; he however seems to have a secret prejudice in favour of Cicero.

Father Rapin is equally cautious and reserved in his comparison between those orators; I should be obliged to copy his whole treatise, were I to repeat all his beautiful reflections on this subject. But some short extracts inform us sufficiently of the difference to be found between them.

“ Besides that solidity, says he, speaking of Cicero, which comprised so much sense and prudence, he had a certain beauty and quintessence of wit, which enabled him to embellish all his ideas; and he heightened every thing that occurred

“ red

^d Quare non immerito ab hominibus aetatis suae regnare in judiciis dictus est: apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis sed eloquentiae nomen habeatur. Hunc igitur spectemus: hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum. Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit.

“red to his imagination, with the most beautiful
“turns, and the most animated colours in nature.
“Whatever subject he might treat, even the most
“abstracted matters in logic, the driest topics in
“physics, the most knotty points in law, or the
“most intricate in business; all these, I say, when
“delivered by him, assumed that sprightliness, and
“all those graces so natural to him. For we must
“confess, that no man ever spoke with so much
“judgment or beauty on all subjects.

“Demosthenes, says he elsewhere, discovers the
“reality and solidity of every reason that presents
“itself to his mind, and has the art of displaying
“it in all its force. Cicero, besides the solid, which
“never escapes him, sees whatever is agreeable and
“engaging, and traces it directly. In order there-
“fore to distinguish the characters of these two ora-
“tors by their real difference, methinks we may say,
“that Demosthenes, from the impetuosity of his
“temper, the strength of his reason, and the ve-
“hementness of his action, had more force than Ci-
“cero; as Cicero, by his soft and delicate deport-
“ment, by his gentle, piercing, and passionate e-
“motions, and his many natural graces, was more
“affecting than Demosthenes. The Grecian struck
“the mind by the strength of his expression, and
“the ardor and violence of his declamation; the
“Roman reached the heart by certain charms and
“imperceptible beauties, which were natural to
“him, and which were heightened by all the art
“that eloquence is capable of. The one dazzled
“the understanding by the splendor of his light,
“and threw a confusion into the soul, which was
“won by the understanding only; and the insinua-
“ting genius of the other penetrated, by a certain
“sweetness and complacency, to the most hidden
“recesses of the heart. He had the art of entering
“into the interests, the inclinations, the passions,
“and sentiments of all who heard him.

The

The archbishop of Cambray having more courage than the two excellent writers above cited, declares manifestly in favour of Demosthenes; and yet he cannot be thought to be an enemy to the graces, the flowers, and elegance of speech. He gives us his sentiments on this subject, in his epistle upon eloquence. "I am not, says he, afraid to own, that
 "I prefer Demosthenes to Cicero. I protest no one
 "admires Cicero more than I do; he adorns every
 "thing he touches; he does honour to speech; he
 "makes more of words than any other could; he
 "is possessed of a variety of geniuses; he is even
 "concise and vehement whenever he pleases, a-
 "gainst Catiline, Verres, and Anthony; but we
 "perceive some embellishment in his orations.
 "They are worked up with wonderful art, but we
 "see through it. When the orator thinks of the
 "safety of the commonwealth, he neither forgets
 "himself, nor suffers others to do it: but Demo-
 "sthenes seems to step out, as it were, from him-
 "self, and to see nothing but his country. He
 "does not seek after beauties, for they occur to
 "him naturally. He is superior to admiration; he
 "makes use of speech as a modest man does of
 "clothes: he thunders and lightens: he is a flood,
 "that sweeps away all things in its progress. We
 "cannot criticise upon him, because we are capti-
 "vated by his eloquence. We are attentive to his
 "ideas, and not to his words: we lose sight of him,
 "and our whole attention is fixed on Philip, who
 "usurps every thing. Both orators charm me;
 "but I own myself less affected with Cicero's bound-
 "less art and magnificent eloquence, than with the
 "rapid simplicity of Demosthenes.

Nothing can be more rational and judicious than these reflections of the great archbishop; and the closer we examine his opinion, the more conformable we find it to good sense, right reason, and the most exact rules of true rhetoric. But whoever would take upon him to prefer Demosthenes's orations to those

those of Cicero, ought, in my opinion, to possess almost as much solidity, force, and elevation of mind, as Demosthenes must have had to compose them. Whether it be owing to a long prepossession in favour of an author we have constantly read from our tender years; or that we are accustomed to a style which agrees more with our manners, and is more adapted to our capacities, we cannot be persuaded to prefer the severe austerity of Demosthenes to the insinuating softness of Cicero; and we chuse to follow our own inclination and taste for an author who is in some measure our friend and acquaintance, rather than to declare, upon the credit of another, in favour of one that is almost a stranger to us.

Cicero knew the high merit of Demosthenes's eloquence, and was fully sensible of all its strength and beauty: but being persuaded that an orator may, without deviating from the best rules, form his style to a certain point upon the taste of his auditors, (it is obvious enough that I don't here mean a depraved or vicious taste) he did not think the age he lived in susceptible of so rigid an exactness; and believed it necessary to indulge something to the ears and to the delicacy of his auditors, who required more elegance and graces in orations. Thus, he made some allowance to pleasure, but still never lost sight of the cause he was pleading; and he thought he was even then serving his country, which he did effectually, since one of the surest methods of persuading is to please.

The best advice that can be given to young persons who are designed for the bar, is to take for the model of their style, the solid foundation of Demosthenes, embellished with the graces of Cicero: ^f To which,

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if

* Quapropter ne illis quidem nimium repugno, qui dandum putant nonnihil esse temporibus atque auribus nitidius aliquid atque affectatius postulantibus. . . . Atque id fecisse M. Tullium video, ut, cum omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret: cum et ipsam se rem agere diceret (agebat autem maxime) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipso proderat, quod placebat. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

^f Ad cujus voluptates nihil equidem, quod addi possit, invenio, nisi ut sensus nos quidem dicamus plures. Ibid.

if we may believe Quintilian, nothing can be added, except, says he, that perhaps a few more thoughts might be introduced in discourses. He means, no doubt, those which were very much in vogue in his time, and by which, as by so many lively and shining strokes, they pointed the ends of most of their periods. Cicero ventures upon them sometimes, but it is very rarely; and he was the first among the Romans who made them current. It is very obvious, that what Quintilian says in this place, is nothing but a kind of condescension, which the depraved taste of the age seems to have forced from him, when, according to the observation of the author of the Dialogue upon Orators, the auditor thought he had a right to insist upon a florid style; and when even the judge would not vouchsafe to hear a lawyer, if he were not invited, and in some measure corrupted, by the allurements of pleasure, and by the splendor of the thoughts and descriptions.

i “ But, let no one pretend, adds Quintilian, to “ abuse my complaisance, or to carry it farther. I “ will indulge the age we live in so far, as to have “ the gown now in fashion made of something better than coarse stuff, but then it must not be of “ silk; I will allow the hair to be neatly disposed, “ but it must not be in stages and in ringlets; for “ dress is then the most elegant, and, at the same “ time, the most beautiful and becoming, when it “ has nothing luxurious and excessive in it, for the “ sake of pleasing.”

Had

* Cicero primus excoluit orationem locosque laetiores attentavit, et quasdam sententias invenit. Dial. de Orat. n. 22.

^b Auditor assuevit jam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis. . . . Judex ipse, nisi aut colore sententiarum, aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur dicentem. Ibid. n. 20.

ⁱ Sed me haec hactenus cedentem nemo insequatur ultra. Do tempori, ne crassa toga sit, non serica: ne intonsum caput, non in gradus atque annulos totum comptum: cum in eo qui se non ad luxuriam ac libidinem referat, eadem speciosiora quoque sint, quae honestiora. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

Had orators kept within these just bounds, and this wise sobriety with regard to ornaments, eloquence would not have degenerated in Athens and Rome.

We may affirm, that the most conspicuous age for eloquence at Athens was that of Demosthenes, when so great a multitude of excellent orators arose, whose general character was, a natural and unadorned beauty: These orators did not all boast the same genius, nor the same stile; but they were all united in the same taste of truth and simplicity; which continued as long as the Athenians imitated those great men; but the remembrance of them growing insensibly more obscure after their death, and being at last quite obliterated in people's minds, a new species of eloquence arose, which was softer and more loose and diffused than the antient kind.

Demetrius Phalereus, who might have seen and heard Demosthenes, took a different course, by giving entirely into the florid and embellished species. He thought eloquence ought to appear in gay and sprightly colours, and be divested of that gloomy and rigid air, which made her, in his opinion, too serious. He introduced a great many more thoughts; strewed more flowers over her, and, to use an expression of Quintilian, instead of the majestic, but modest dress she wore in Demosthenes's time, ¹ he gave her a sparkling robe, variegated with colours altogether unfit for the dust of the bar, but, at the same time, very fit to attract and dazzle the eyes of people.

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Thus

* Haec aetas effudit hanc copiam: et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc aetatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset non fucatus nitor. Brut. n. 36.

Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines, Dinarchus, aliique complures, etsi inter se pares non fuerunt, tamen sunt omnes in eodem veritatis imitandae genere versati. Quorum quamdiu mansit imitatio, tamdiu genus illud dicendi studiumque vixit. Posteaquam, extinctis his, omnis eorum memoria sensim obscurata est et evanuit, alia quaedam dicendi molliora ac remissiora genera viguerunt. de Orat. n. 94, 95.

¹ Meminerimus versicolorem illam, quae Demetrius Phalereus dicebatur uti, vestem non bene ad forenses pulverem facere. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

^l Thus Demetrius, being fitter for affairs of pomp and ceremony, than the contests and litigations of the bar, preferred softness, to strength; endeavour'd more to charm, than subdue the mind; thought it sufficient to leave in it the remembrance of a flowing and harmonious discourse, but did not endeavour, like Pericles, to leave at the same time sharp stings, as it were, blended with the allurements of pleasure.

^m It does not appear, by the picture which Cicero had elsewhere drawn of Phalereus, and his opinion of him, that there was however any thing of forced and excessive in his style; since he says, ⁿ we might esteem and approve it, if not compared with the force and majesty of the noble and sublime style.

^o And nevertheless Demetrius was the first who caused eloquence to degenerate; ^p and perhaps declamations, the practice of which was first introduced into the schools in his time, and possibly might have been invented by him, contributed very much to this fatal decline, as they certainly afterwards hastened that of the Roman eloquence.

But things did not long continue in this state. ^q When eloquence, after leaving the Piræum, had begun to breathe another air, she soon lost that sprightliness and florid health which she had always preserved

^l Phalereus successit eis senibus adolescens, eruditissimus ille quidam horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus quam palæstra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quam inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem et pulverem: non ut è militari tabernacula, sed ut è Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis. Hic primus inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit: et suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis, sed suavitate ea qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret: et tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suae, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus esset auditus. Brut. n. 37, 38.

^m Orat. n. 91, 96.

ⁿ Et nisi coram erit, comparatus ille fortior, per se hic, quem dico, probabitur. Orat. n. 95.

^o Primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

^p Quint. l. 2. c. 4.

^q Ut semel è Piræeo eloquentia evecta est, omnes peragravit infulas, atque ita peregrinata tota Asia est, ut se externis oblineret moribus; omnemque illam salubritatem Atticae dictionis et quasi sanitatem perderet, ac loqui pene dedisceret. Brut. n. 51.

preserved there; and being vitiated by foreign manners, she forgot, as it were, the use of speech, and was so changed, that there was no knowing her. Thus she fell by degrees from the *beautiful* and the *perfect*, to the *mediate* or *indifferent*, whence she plunged into every kind of error and excess.

I observed in another place, in speaking of Seneca, that the Latin eloquence met with the same fate.

Possibly the same reasons may justly make us apprehend the like misfortune, especially when we consider that those changes proceeded wholly, both in the Athenian and Roman eloquence, from an excessive desire of setting her off with too much pomp and parade. For I know not by what fatality it has always happened, that as soon as taste was arrived at a certain degree of maturity and perfection, it almost immediately degenerated, and fell by imperceptible gradations, though sometimes very suddenly, from the summit of perfection to barbarity. I except, however, the Greek poetry, every species of which, from Homer to Theocritus and his contemporaries, that is, for six or seven centuries, preserved the same purity and elegance.

We may affirm, to the glory of our own nation, that our taste with regard to polite literature, has been exquisite for near a century, and still continues so. But it is remarkable, that those celebrated writers, who have done so much honour to France, each of whom may be considered as an original in his way, thought it a duty incumbent on them, to consider the ancients as their masters; and that the writings in the greatest esteem among us, and which in all probability will descend to the latest posterity, are all formed on the model of the celebrated among the ancients. This ought also to be our rule; and we may be assured that we deviate as much from perfection, as we depart from the taste of the ancients.

But to return, and conclude this article, the best model for youth designed for the bar, is, as was be-

fore observed, Demosthenes's stile, softened and adorned with that of Cicero, in such a manner, that the severity of the former be qualified with the graces of the latter; and that the conciseness and vivacity of Demosthenes may correct the luxuriancy, and perhaps the too loose way of writing with which Cicero is reproached.

A more florid kind of eloquence, such, for example, as that of M. Flechier, is no way suitable to lawyers. I never read the picture which Cicero gives of an orator of his time called Callidius, but I discover most of M. Flechier's principal characters in it; and the reflection he makes upon it, seems to me very well adapted to the matter I am now treating. "s He
 " was not, says he, an orator of an ordinary rank,
 " but one of singular and uncommon merit. His
 " thoughts are great and exquisite, and he clothes
 " them in delicate words. He managed a discourse
 " as he pleased, and could throw it into any form;
 " no orator was ever more master of his subject, or
 " handled

^r Dial. de Orat. n. 18.

^s Sed de M. Callidio dicamus aliquid, qui non fuit orator unus è multis; potius inter multos prope singularis fuit: ita reconditas exquisitasque sententias mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio. Nihil tam tenerum quam illius comprehensio verborum: nihil tam flexibile: nihil quod magis ipsius arbitrio fingeretur, ut nullius oratoris aequè in potestate fuerit. Quae primum ita pura erat, ut nihil liquidius: ita liberè fluebat, ut nusquam adhaeresceret. Nullum nisi loco positum, et tanquam in vermiculato emblemate, ut ait Lucilius, structum verbum videres. Nec vero ullum aut durum, aut insolens, aut humile, aut in longius ductum. Ac non propria verba rerum, sed pleraque tralata: sic tamen ut ea, non irruisse in alienum locum, sed immigrasse in suum diceret. Nec vero haec soluta, nec diffuentia, sed adstricta numeris, non aperte nec eodem modo semper, sed varie dissimulanterque conclusis. Erant autem et verborum et sententiarum lumina . . . quibus tanquam insignibus in ornatu distinguebatur omnis oratio. . . . Accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, totumque dicendi placidum et sanum genus. Quod si est optimum suaviter dicere, nihil est quod melius hoc quaerendum putes. Sed cum à nobis paulo ante dictum sit, tria videri esse quae orator efficere deberet, ut doceret, ut delectaret, ut moveret: duo summe tenuit, ut et rem illustraret differendò, et animos eorum qui audirent demulceret voluptate. Aberat tertia illa laus qua permoveret atque incitaret animos, quam plurimum pollere diximus. Brut. n. 274, 275, 276.

“ handled it with greater art. Nothing is purer or
“ more flowing than his diction ; every word stands
“ in its proper place, and is set in, as it were, by a
“ masterly hand. He admits nothing harsh, obso-
“ lete, low, or that can confuse or disorder a dis-
“ course. He uses metaphors frequently, but they
“ are so natural, that they seem less to assume the
“ place of other words, than to possess their own.
“ All this is accompanied with harmony and ca-
“ dence surprisngly various, and yet far from af-
“ fectation. He aptly employs the most beautiful
“ figures, which add a strong lustre to his writings.
“ We see the utmost art and justness in the order
“ and plan of his work ; and the style of the whole
“ is easy, calm, and in an exquisite taste. In a
“ word, if eloquence consisted in beauty only, no-
“ thing could be superior to this orator. Of the
“ three parts which constitute it, he is a perfect
“ master of the two first ; I mean those which tend
“ to please and instruct ; but he is quite deficient
“ in the third species, which is the most confide-
“ rable, I mean that by which the passions are mo-
“ ved.”

We ought certainly to set a high value upon this kind of eloquence ; but in what light will it appear when compared to the great and the sublime, which is the characteristic of that of Demosthenes ? The latter resembles those beautiful and magnificent buildings, formed after the taste of ancient architecture, that admits only of simple ornaments ; the first view of which, and much more the plan, the economy and distribution of the several parts, exhibit something so great, noble and majestic, that they strike and charm the artist at the same instant. The other may be compared to houses built in an elegant and delicate taste, to which art and opulence have annexed whatever is rich and splendid ; in which gold and marble are everywhere seen, and where the eye is perpetually delighted with something curious and exquisite.

There

There is a third kind of eloquence which, in my opinion, is also inferior to the second, and may lead us insensibly to something worse; I mean that which abounds with fallies of wit, bright thoughts, and a kind of points, which are now so much in vogue. These are supported in some of our writers, by the justness of ideas, the strength of argument, the order and series of discourse, and natural beauty of genius. But as the last qualities are very uncommon, we have just reason to fear that their imitators will copy all the vices and defects of their style, as did Seneca's imitators; † for these, by copying only his faults, were as much inferior to the model they proposed to follow, as Seneca himself to the ancients.

The bar was always, but now more than ever, an enemy to this dazzling, affected style. The grave discourses of those judicious magistrates, who when they prescribe the true rules of eloquence every year to pleaders, point out at the same time perfect models to them, are strong barriers against a vicious taste; and contribute very much towards perpetuating, in courts of justice, that happy traditional good taste, as well as just sentiments, which they have so long retained.

Before I conclude this article, I should treat a point in which several young students will one day want to be instructed; I mean, to point out the style proper for *Reports*. This branch is of much more frequent use, and more extensive in our days than the eloquence of the bar; for it takes in all who are concerned in the law, and is practised in all the superior and inferior courts, in all companies, in all public offices, and in all commissions. To succeed in this kind of declamation is as glorious as the pleading of causes, and as useful for the defence of justice and innocence. However, I can treat but very slightly of this matter here, and will only

† Amabant eum magis, quam imitabatur: tantumque ab illo desuebant, quantum ille ab antiquis descenderat. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

only explain the principles of it, without being very particular.

I am sensible that every company and every court have their particular usages and customs in reporting cases. But all have the same foundation; and the style, on these occasions, must be the same everywhere. There is a sort of eloquence peculiar to this kind of discourse, which consists, if I am not mistaken, in speaking with perspicuity and elegance.

The end proposed by a person who reports cases, is, to inform the judges, his colleagues, of the affair, upon which they are to give judgment in conjunction with him. He is charged, in their names, with the examination of it. He becomes, on that occasion, the eye, as it were, of the company. He communicates to them all the lights and informations possible. But to do this effectually, the subjects he undertakes to treat must be methodized in such a manner, the several facts and proofs so disposed, and the whole so perspicuous and clear, that all may easily comprehend the *report*. All things must conspire to this perspicuity, the thoughts, the expressions, the turns, and even the utterance, which must be distinct, easy and calm.

I observed, that to beauty must be joined perspicuity, because we must often please in order to instruct. Judges are but men, and though they are attached to truth and justice, abstracted from all other considerations, it is however proper to attach them still more strongly to them by something taking and delightful. Causes which are generally obscure and full of difficulties, occasion tediousness and disgust, if the person who makes the report does not take care to render it agreeable by a certain elegance and delicacy of wit, which strikes us without affecting to display itself, and by a certain charm and grace, awakens and excites the attention of the hearers.

Addresses to the passions, wherein the greatest force of eloquence consists in other cases, are here
abso-

absolutely prohibited. The person who makes the report does not speak as an advocate but as a judge. In this view, he maintains one of the characteristics of the law, which, while it is serene and calm itself, points out the rule and duty; and as he himself is commanded to be free from passions, he is not allowed to attempt to excite them in others.

This manner of speaking, which is not supported either by the beauty of thoughts and expressions, by the boldness of figures, or by the pathos of the passions, but which has only an easy, simple and natural air and turn in it, is the only one fit for reports, and at the same time not so easy to attain as may be imagined.

I would willingly apply what Tully says of Scaurus's eloquence to that of one who makes reports. This orator tells us, that it did not suit the vivacity of pleading, but was very well adapted to the gravity of a senator, who was more considerable for his solidity and dignity, than for pomp and shew; and whose consummate prudence, joined to the highest sincerity, forced the auditors to give their consent. For on this occasion, the reputation of a judge constitutes part of his eloquence, and the idea we entertain of his integrity, adds great weight and authority to his discourse. ^u *In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis et recti, gravitas summa et naturalis quaedam inerat auctoritas: non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares, cum pro reo diceret. Hoc dicendi genus ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur; ad senatoriam vero sententiam, cujus erat ille princeps, vel maxime: significabat enim non prudentiam solum, sed, quod maxime rem continebat, fidem.*

It is therefore manifest, that those who would succeed in Reports must carefully study the first, or simple kind of eloquence; must enter thoroughly into the genius and taste of it, and copy from the best models; must use the second species of eloquence,

viz.

^u Brut. n. 113 & 112.

viz. the flowery and mediate kind, very sparingly; borrow only a few touches and beauties from it, with a wise circumspection, and that very rarely; but as to the third kind, (the sublime style) they must absolutely never make use of it.

The practice of the universities, especially in the classes of rhetoric and philosophy, may be very useful to young people, in preparing them for making reports. After explaining one of Tully's orations, the pupils are obliged to give an account of it, to display its several parts, to distinguish the various proofs, and make remarks upon such passages as are strong or weak. In philosophy likewise, it is the custom, after reading some excellent treatises of that kind to them, such as Descartes and Malbranche, to discuss them thoroughly, to reduce arguments, which often are very long and abstracted, to some conciseness and perspicuity, to set the difficulties and objections in their full light, and to subjoin the solutions deduced from them. I have heard young lawyers own, that of all the university exercises this was the most advantageous, and of the greatest use to them in reports.

ARTICLE II.

How Youth may prepare themselves for Pleading.

AS Demosthenes and Cicero arrived at perfection in eloquence, they are the most proper to point out the path which youth must follow to attain it. I shall therefore give a short relation of what we are told concerning their tender years, their education, the different exercises by which they prepared themselves for pleading, and what formed their greatest merit, and established their reputation. Thus, these two great orators will serve at the same time for models and guides to youth. I do not however pretend to say, they must or can imitate

tate them in every thing ; but should they follow them only at a distance, they would find great advantages from it.

DEMOSTHENES.

* Demosthenes having lost his father, at the age of seven years, and falling into the hands of selfish and avaricious guardians, who were wholly bent upon plundering his estate, was not educated with the care which so excellent a genius as his deserved : not to mention that the delicacy of his constitution, his ill state of health, and the excessive fondness of his mother, did not allow his masters to urge him in regard to his studies.

Demosthenes hearing them one day speak of a famous cause that was to be pleaded, and which made a great noise in the city, importuned them very much to carry him with them to the bar, in order to hear the pleadings. The orator whose name was Callistratus, was heard with great attention, and having been very successful, was conducted home, in a ceremonious manner, amidst a croud of illustrious citizens, who expressed the highest satisfaction. Demosthenes was strongly affected with the honours which were paid the orator, and still more with the absolute and despotic power which eloquence has over the mind. Demosthenes himself was sensible of its force, and unable to resist its charms ; he from that day devoted himself entirely to it, and immediately laid aside every other pleasure and study.

Isocrates's school, y which formed so many great orators, was at that time the most famous in Athens. But whether the sordid avarice of Demosthenes's tutors hindered him from improving under a master who

* Plut. in Vita Demosth.

y Isocrates cujus è ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. 2 de Orat. n. 94.

who made his pupils pay very dear y for their instruction, or whether the gentle or calm eloquence of Isocrates was not then suitable to his taste, he was placed under Isæus z, whose eloquence was forcible and vehement. He found, however, an opportunity to procure the precepts of rhetoric, as taught by Isocrates. Plato indeed contributed most to the forming of Demosthenes. a And we plainly discover the noble and sublime style of the master, in the writings of the pupil.

His first essay of eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to restore part of his fortune. Encouraged by this good success, he ventured to speak before the people; but acquitted himself very ill on that occasion. Demosthenes had a faint voice, stammered in his speech, and had a very short breath; and yet his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to pause, in order to take breath. He therefore was hissed by the whole audience, and thereupon went home quite dejected, and determined to abandon for ever a profession to which he imagined himself unequal. But one of his hearers, who perceived an excellent genius amidst his faults, and an eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, encouraged him, by the strong remonstrances he made, and the salutary advice he gave him.

He therefore appeared a second time before the people, but with no better success than before. As he was going home with down-cast eyes, and full of confusion, he was met by his friend Satyrus, one of the best actors of the age; who being informed of the cause of his chagrin, told Demosthenes, that the misfortune was not without remedy, nor so desperate as he imagined. He desired Demosthenes only to repeat some of Euripides or Sophocles's verses to

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him;

y Ten minae, or five hundred French livres.

z Sermo promptus, et Isæo torrentior. Juven.

a Illud jusjurandum per caesos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores reipublicae, satis manifesto docet praeceptorem ejus Platonem fuisse. Quintil. l. 12. c. 19.

him; which he immediately did. Satyrus repeated them after him, and gave them quite another grace by the tone of voice, the gesture, and vivacity with which he spoke them; so that Demosthenes observed they had a quite different effect. This made him sensible of what he wanted, and he applied himself to the attainment of it.

His endeavours to correct the natural impediment in his speech, and to perfect himself in utterance, of the value of which his friend had made him so sensible, seemed almost incredible, and demonstrate, that indefatigable industry can overcome all difficulties. ^b He stammered to such a degree, that he could not even pronounce certain letters; and among others, that which began the name of the art he studied; and his breath was so short, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. However, Demosthenes overcame all these obstacles, by putting little pebbles into his mouth, and then repeating several verses one after another, without taking breath; and this even when he walked, and ascended very craggy and steep places: so that he at last could pronounce all the letters without hesitating, and speak the longest periods without once taking breath. But this was not all; ^c for he used to go to the sea shore, and speak his orations when the weather was most boisterous, in order to prepare himself,

^b Orator imitetur illum, cui sine dubio summa vis dicendi conceditur, Atheniensem Demosthenem, in quo tantum studium fuisse tantusque labor dicitur, ut primum impedimenta naturae diligentia industriaque superaret: cumque ita balbus esset, ut ejus ipsius artis, cui studeret, primam literam non posset dicere, perfecit meditando ut nemo planius eo locutus putaretur. Deinde cum spiritus ejus esset angustior, tantum continendâ animâ in dicendo est assecutus, ut una continuatione verborum (id quod scripta ejus declarant) binæ ei contentiones vocis et remissiones continerentur. Qui etiam (ut memoriae proditum est) conjectis in os calculis, summa voce versus multos uno spiritu pronuntiare consuebat; neque id consistens in loco, sed inambulans, atque adscensu ingrediens arduo. 1 de Orat. n. 260, 261.

^c Propter quae idem ille tantus amator secreti Demosthenes, in littore, in quod se maximo cum sono fluctus illideret, meditans consuebat concionum fremitus non expavescere. Q. l. 10. c. 13.

self, by the confused noise of the waves, for the uproar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of assemblies. He had a large mirror, which was his master for action; and before this he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. He was well paid for his trouble, since by this method he carried the art of declaiming to the highest perfection of which it was capable.

His application to study, in other respects, was equal to the pains he took to conquer his natural defects. He had a closet made under ground, that he might be remote from noise and disturbance; and this was to be seen in Plutarch's time. There he shut himself up for months together, and had half his head shaved, on purpose that he might be kept from going abroad. It was there he composed, by the light of a small lamp, those excellent harangues which smelt, as his enemies gave out, of the oil; to insinuate, they were too much laboured. 'Tis very plain, replied he, yours did not cost you so much trouble. He was a very early riser, and^d used to be under great concern when any artificer got to work before him. We may judge of his endeavours to perfect himself in every kind of learning, by the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history no less than eight times, with his own hand, in order to make his style more familiar to him.

C I C E R O.

Cicero was born with a very fine genius, and had likewise the best education,^c in which he was more happy than Demosthenes. His father took particular care of it, and spared nothing to cultivate his talents. It appears that the famous Crassus, whom he so often mentions in his works, was pleased to direct the plan of his studies, and assigned him such preceptors

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as

^d Cui non sunt auditae Demosthenis vigiliae? qui dolere se aiebat, si quando opificum antelucana victus esset industria. 4 Tusc. quaest. n. 44.

^c 2. de Orat. n. 2.

as were capable of assisting him in forming Cicero ^f. The poet Archias implanted in him very early the elements of taste for polite literature; which Cicero himself tells us, in the eloquent oration he made in defence of his master.

No child ever discovered more ardor for study than Cicero. Children were at that time taught by none but Greeks; and he performed such things in their language, as deserve to be taken notice of. Plotius was the first who altered that custom, and taught in Latin. He was a Gaul ^g, and had a very famous school. People sent their children to it from all parts, and those of the best taste approved his method very much. Cicero was excessively desirous of hearing such a master; but those who had the chief management of his education and studies, did not think proper to gratify him, because that method of teaching, which was not practised or heard of till then, appeared to the magistrates a dangerous innovation; and the censors, of whom Crassus was one, made a decree to prohibit it, without giving any other reason, but that the custom was contrary to the practice established by their ancestors ^h. Crassus, or rather Cicero in his name, endeavours to justify this decree in the best manner he could, which had given offence to people of the best understanding; and he hints, that the new plan itself was not so much condemned, as the method the masters took in teaching it. And indeed, ⁱ this plan prevailed at last, and people

^f Quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis, et pueritiae memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum extitisse. Orat. pro Arch. n. 1.

^g Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primum Latine docere coepisse Lucium Plotium quemdam: ad quem cum fieret concursus, quod studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui exillimabant graecis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse. Epist. Cicer. apud Suet. de claris Rhetoribus.

^h 3. de Orat. n. 93, 95.

ⁱ Paulatim et ipsa utilis honestaque apparuit: multique eam praedicii causa et gloriae appetiverunt. Sueton. Ibid.

ple were sensible of the benefit and advantages which accrued from it, as Suetonius informs us, who has preserved Cicero's epistle, wherein he speaks of Plotius, the censor's order, and the decree of the senate.

^k In the mean time, Cicero made a great progress under his masters. And indeed, he had such a genius as Plato wished a pupil; a strong thirst for learning, a mind fit for sciences, and that took in all things. Poetry was one of his first passions, and 'tis related that he succeeded tolerably well in it. From his infant years, he distinguished himself in so remarkable a manner among those of his own age, that the parents of his school-fellows, hearing of his extraordinary genius, came on purpose to the school to be eye-witnesses of it; and were charmed with what they saw and heard. His merit must have been attended with great modesty, since his companions were the first who proclaimed it, and paid him such honours, as raised the jealousy of some of their parents.

At sixteen, which was the time youth were allowed to wear the *toga virilis*, or manly gown, Cicero's studies became more serious. ^l It was a custom then at Rome for the father or next relation of a youth, who had attained the age we are now speaking of, and designed for the bar, to present him to one of the most celebrated orators, and put him under his protection. After this, the young man devoted himself to his patron in a particular manner; went to hear him plead, consulted him about his studies, and did nothing without his advice. Being thus accustomed betimes to breathe, as it were, the air of the bar, which is the best school for a young lawyer; and as he was the dis-

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ciple

^k Plut. in vit. Cicerv.

^l Ergo apud majores nostros, juvenis ille, qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus jam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur à patre, vel à propinquis, ad eum oratorem qui principem locum in civitate tenebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, hujus omnibus dictionibus interesse. . . . Atque hercule sub ejusmodi præceptionibus juvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, feri auditor, sectator judiciorum, eruditus et assuefactus alienis experimentis. . . . solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. Dial. de Orat. n. 34.

ciple of the greatest masters, and formed on the most finished models, he was soon able to imitate them.

^m Cicero himself tells us, this was his custom, and that he was a diligent hearer of the ablest orators in Rome. He devoted several hours every day to reading and composition; and 'tis very probable, that what he makes Crassus ⁿ say, in his books *de Oratore*, he himself had practised in his youth; that is, to translate the finest pieces of the Greek orators into Latin, in order to imbibe their style and genius.

^o He did not confine himself barely to the study of eloquence; for that of the law appeared to him one of the most necessary, and he devoted himself to it with uncommon application. He likewise made himself perfectly master of philosophy in all its branches ^p; and he proves in several places, that it contributed infinitely more than rhetoric towards making him an orator. ^q He had the best philosophers of the age for his masters.

Cicero did not begin to plead till he was about six and twenty. The troubles of the state prevented him from attempting it sooner. ^r His first essays were so many master-pieces, and they immediately gained him a reputation almost equal to that of the oldest lawyers. His defence of Sextus Roscius, and especially the part relating to the punishment of parricides, had extraordinary success, and gained him great applause; and so much the more, as none else had courage enough to undertake the cause, on account of the exorbitant credit of Chrysogonus, freed man to Sylla the dictator, whose power in the commonwealth was at that time unlimited. The

^m Reliquos frequenter audiens accerrimo studio tenebar, quotidieque et scribens, et legens, et commentans, oratoris tantum exercitationibus contentus non eram. Brut. n. 305.

ⁿ I. de Orat. n. 155.

^o Brut. n. 306.

^p Ego fateor, me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiae spatiis extitisse. Orat. n. 12.

^q Brut. n. 305, et 309.

^r Prima causa publica, pro Sexto Roscio dicta, tantum commendationis habuit, ut non ulla esset, quae non nostro digna patrocinio videretur. Brut. n. 312.

Quantis illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum? Orat. n. 1. 7.

^s The sensible pleasure his rising reputation gave him, was allayed by the ill state of his health. His constitution was very tender; the drudgery of the bar, together with his warm and vehement manner of writing and speaking, made people fear he would sink under their weight; and all his friends and the physicians enjoined him silence and retirement. It was a kind of death to him to renounce wholly the pleasing hopes of glory which the bar seemed to offer him. He thought it would be enough to soften a little the vehemence of his stile and pronounciation, and that a voyage might restore his health. And accordingly, he set out for Asia. Some indeed imagined a political reason made his absence necessary, in order that he might avoid the consequence of Chryfogonus's resentment.

^t He took Athens in his way, and continued there about six months. 'Tis easy to judge how one who was so fond of study, employed that time in a city which was still looked upon as the seat of the most refined learning, and most solid philosophy. ^u From Athens he went to Asia, where he consulted all the able professors of eloquence he could meet with. And not contented with all the treasures he had amassed there, he proceeded to Rhodes, purposely to hear the celebrated Molo. Though he had already acquired great reputation among the lawyers of Rome, he was not in the least ashamed of taking new lessons under him, and of becoming his disciple a second time. * But he had no reason to repent it; for

^{*} Erat eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas et infirmitas corporis: procerum et tenue collum: qui habitus et quae figura non procul abesse putatur à vitae periculo, si accedit labor, et laterum magna contentio. Eoque magis hoc eos, quibus eram carus, commovebat, quod omnia sine remissione, sine varietate, vi summa vocis, et totius corporis contentione dicebam. Itaque cum me et amici et medici hortarentur, ut causas agere desisterem: quodvis potius periculum mihi adendum, quam à sperata dicendi gloria discedendum putavi. Sed cum censerem remissione et moderatione vocis, et commutato genere dicendi, me et periculum vitare posse, et temperatius dicere; ea causa mihi in Asiam proficiscendi fuit. Brut. n. 313, 314.

^t Brut. n. 315.

^u Brut. n. 315, et 316.

* Is Molo dedit operam, si modo id consequi potuit, ut nimis redun-

for this great master, taking him again under his tuition, corrected what was still vicious in his stile; and completely retrenched that excessive redundancy which, like a river that overflowed its banks, had neither measure nor boundaries.

* Cicero returned to Rome after two years absence, not only more accomplished, but almost a new man. He had acquired a sweeter voice; his style was become more correct and less verbose; and even his body was grown more robust. y He found two orators at Rome who had gained great reputation, and whom he much desired to equal; these were Cotta and Hortensius, but especially the latter, who was very near of the same age with himself, and whose manner of writing bore a near resemblance to his own. 'Tis not an idle curiosity in young men designed for the bar, to see those two great orators contending for prizes, like two wrestlers, and disputing for victory with one another during several years, through a noble emulation. I shall here relate a part of what Cicero tells us on that subject.

z Hortensius wanted none of those qualifications, either natural or acquired, which form the great orator. He had a lively genius, an inconceivable passion for study, a large extent of knowledge, a prodigious memory, and so perfect a manner of
pronun-

redundantes nos et superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret, et quasi extra ripas diffuentes coerceret. Brut. n. 316.

* M. Tullius, cum jam clarum meruisset inter patronos qui tum erant, nomen. Apollonio Moloni, quem Romae quoque audierat, Rhodi se rursus formandum ac velut recoquendum dedit. Quint. l. 12. c. 6.

* Ita recepi me biennio post, non modo exercitior, sed prope mutatus. Nam et contentio nimia vocis reciderat, et quasi defuerat oratio, lateribusque vires et corporis mediocris habitus accesserat. Brut. n. 316.

y Duo tum excelebant oratores, qui me imitandi cupiditate incitarent, Cotta et Hortensius. . . . Cum Hortensio mihi magis arbitrabar rem esse; quod et dicendi ardore eram propior, et aetate conjunctior. Brut. n. 317.

* Nihil isti, neque à natura, neque à doctrina defuit. . . . Erat ingenio peracri, et studio flagranti, et doctrina eximia, et memoria singulari. 3. de Orat. n. 229, 239.

pronunciation, that the most celebrated actors of his time went on purpose to hear him, in order to form themselves by his example for gesture and declamation. Thus he made a shining figure at the bar, and acquired great reputation.

^a But there being nothing further to animate his ambition after he was raised to the consulship; and desirous of a more happy way of life, as he imagined, or at least a more easy one, with the great possessions he had acquired; he began to grow indolent, and abated very much of the warmth he had always entertained for study from his childhood. There was some difference in his manner of pleading the first, second, and third years after his consulship; but this was scarce perceivable; and none but the learned could observe it: as happens to pictures, the brightness of whose colours decays insensibly. This declension encreased with his years, and when his fire and vivacity left him, he grew every day more unlike himself.

^b Cicero however redoubling his efforts, made a very great progress, endeavouring to come up with his rival, and even outstrip him, if possible, in that noble career of glory, where pleaders are allowed to dispute the palm with their best friends. A new species of eloquence, beautiful as well as energetic, which he introduced in the bar, drew peoples eyes upon him, and made him the object of public admiration. He himself gives an excellent picture of this,

^a Post consulatum . . . summum illud suum studium remisit, quo à puero fuerat incensus: atque in omnium rerum abundantia, voluit beatius, ut ipse putabat, remissius certe, vivere. Primus, et secundus annus, et tertius, tantum quasi de picturae veteris colore detraxerat, quantum non quivis unus ex populo, sed existimator doctus et intelligens possët cognoscere. Longius autem procedens, et in cæteris eloquentiae partibus, tum maxime in celeritate et continuatione verborum adhaerescens: sui dissimilior videbatur fieri quotidie. Brut. n. 320.

^b Nos autem non desistebamus, cum omni genere exercitationis, tum maxime stilo, nostrum illud quod erat augere: quantumcunque erat. . . . Nam cum propter assiduitatem in causis, et industriam, tum propter exquisitius et minime vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. N. 521.

this, but in a curious and delicate manner; by observing what was wanting in others, and shewing by that means what was admired in himself. I shall transcribe the whole passage, because youth may therein see all the parts which form this great orator.

“ No person at that time, says Cicero, made polite literature his particular study, without which there is no perfect eloquence. No one studied philosophy thoroughly, which alone teaches us at one and the same time, to live and speak well. No one learnt the civil law, which is absolutely necessary for an orator, to enable him to plead well in private causes, and form a true judgment of public affairs. There was no person well skilled in the Roman history, or able to make a proper use of it in pleading. No one could raise a cheerfulness in the judges, and unruffle them, as it were, by seasonable railleries, after having vigorously pushed his adversary, by the strength and solidity of his arguments: no one had the art of transferring or converting the circumstance of a private affair into a common or general one: no person could sometimes depart from his subject by prudent digressions, to throw in the agreeable into his discourse: in fine, no person could incline the judges sometimes to anger, sometimes to compassion; and inspire them with whatever sentiments
“ he

* Nihil de me dicam; dicam de caeteris, quorum nemo erat qui videretur exquisitius quam vulgus hominum studuisse literis, quibus fons perfectæ eloquentiæ continetur: nemo, qui philosophiam complexus esset, matrem omnium bene factorum beneque dictorum: nemo, qui jns civile didicisset, rem ad privatas causas, et ad oratoris prudentiam, maxime necessariam: nemo, qui memoriæ rerum Romanarum teneret, ex qua, si quando opus esset, ab inferis locupletissimos testes excitaret: nemo, qui breviter arguteque incluso adversario, laxaret judicum animos, atque à severitate paulisper ad hilaritatem risumque traderet: nemo, qui dilatare posset, atque à propria ac definita disputatione hominis ac temporis ad communem quaestionem universi generis orationem traderet: nemo, qui delectandi gratia digredi parumper à causâ: nemo qui ad iracundiam magnopere judicem, nemo, qui ad fletum posset adducere: nemo, qui animum ejus, (quod unum est oratoris maxime proprium) quocunque res postularet impelleret. Brut. n. 322.

“he pleased, wherein, however, the principal merit of an orator consists.”

^d Cicero's great success roused Hortensius from his lethargy, especially when he saw him promoted to the consulate; fearing, no doubt, that now he was equal to him in dignity, he would surpass him in merit. They afterwards pleaded together for twelve years, lived in great unity, and had an esteem for one another, each exalting the other much above himself. But the public gave the preference to Cicero without hesitation.

^e The latter orator tells us the reason why Hortensius was more agreeable to the public in his youth, than in his advanced years. He gave into a florid kind of eloquence, enriched with happy expressions; a great beauty and delicacy of thought, which was often more shining than solid; an uncommon correctness, justness, and elegance. His discourses thus laboured with infinite care and art, supported by a musical voice, an agreeable action, and an exquisite utterance,

^a Itaque, cum jam pene evanisset Hortensius, et ego consul factus essem, revocare se ad industriam coepit: nō, cum pares honore essemus, aliqua re superior viderer. Sic duodecim post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis, cum ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferreret, conjunctissime versati sumus. Brut. n. 313.

^e Si quaerimus cur adolescens magis floruerit dicendo, quam senior, Hortensius: causas reperiemus verissimas duas. Primum, quod genus erat orationis Asiaticum, adolescentiae magis concessum, quam senectuti. . . . Itaque Hortensius hoc genere florens, clamores faciebat adolescens. . . . Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus. . . . Vox canora et suavis: motus et gestus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat oratori satis. Habebat illud studium crebrarum venustarumque sententiarum: in quibus erant quaedam magis venustae dulcesque sententiae, quam aut necessariae, aut interdum utiles. Et erat oratio cum incitata et vibrans, tum etiam accurata et polita. . . . Etsi genus illud dicendi auctoritatis habebat parum, tamen aptum esse aetati videbatur. Et certe, quod ingenii quaedam forma lucebat . . . summam hominum admirationem excitabat. Sed cum jam honores, et illa senior auctoritas gravius quiddam requirerent; remanebat idem, nec dicebat idem. Quodque exercitationem studiumque dimiserat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritasque sententiarum pristina manebat, sed ea vestitu illo orationis, quo consueverat, ornata non erat. Brut. 325, 326, 327, et 330.

ance, were extremely pleasing in a young man, and at first engrossed the applause of all men. But afterwards this kind of gay eloquence became unseasonable, because the weight of the public employments he had passed through, and the maturity of his years, required something more grave and serious. He was always the same orator, had always the same style, but not the same success. Besides, as his ardor for study was very much abated, and he did not take so much pains as formerly, the thoughts which till then had brightened his pieces, having no longer their former embellishment, but appearing with a negligent air, lost most of their splendor, and by that means made the orator sink very much in his reputation.

REFLECTIONS

Upon what has been said on this subject.

The bare relation I have made of the conduct of the greatest orators of antiquity, will sufficiently point out to youth designed for the bar, the path they are to follow, if they propose to attain the same end.

1. The first and principal thing they must do, is to form a grand idea of their profession. For though it does not now lead to the chief employments in the state, as formerly at Athens and at Rome; yet what esteem does it not gain those who distinguish themselves in it, either in pleading or giving counsel? ^f Can any

^f Quid est praeclarius, quam honoribus et reip. muneribus perfunctum senem, posse suo jure dicere idem, quod apud Ennium dicat ille Pythius Apollo, se eum esse, UNDE sibi, si non POPULI ET REGES, at omnes sui cives CONSILIUM EXPERTANT,

SUARUM RERUM INCERTI: QUOS EGO MEA OPE EX INCERTIS CERTOS, COMPOTESQUE CONSILII

DIMITTO, UT NE RES TEMERE TRACTENT TURBIDAS.

Est enim sine dubio domus jurisconsulti totius oraculum civitatis
1. de Orat. n. 166, 200.

Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres et senes, et totius urbis gratia subnixos in summa omnium rerum abundantia, consistentes id quod optimum sit se non habere? Dial. de Orat. n. 6.

any thing delight a private man more, than to see his house frequented by persons of the greatest rank, and even by princes, who in all their doubts and necessities resort to him as to an oracle, to pay homage to his profession and extraordinary abilities, and to acknowledge a superiority of learning and prudence which riches and grandeur cannot bestow. Is there any finer sight than to see a numerous auditory attentive, immoveable, and, as it were, hanging on the lips of a pleader, who manages speech, seemingly common to all, with so much art, that he charms and ravishes the minds of his hearers, and makes himself absolute master over them? But besides this glory, which would be trifling enough, were there no other motive; what solid joy is it for a virtuous man to think he has received a talent from God which makes him the sanctuary of the unfortunate, the protector of justice; and enables him to defend the lives, fortunes, and honours of his brethren?

2. A natural consequence of this first reflection is, that those designed for the bar should prepare themselves for a profession of such great importance, and imitate, at least at a distance, the passion and indefatigable warmth of Demosthenes and Cicero. I am convinced, that a genius is the first and most necessary quality for a pleader; but I am also certain, that study is of great service. 'Tis like a second nature, and if it does not impart a genius to him who had none before, it, however, rectifies, polishes, improves, and invigorates it. And Cicero had great reason to insist very much upon this article, and to assert, that every thing in eloquence depends on the care, the pains, the application and vigilance of the orator.

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3. The

* Cum ad inveniendum in dicendo tria sint, acumen, ratio, diligentia: non possum equidem non ingenio primas concedere: sed tamen ipsum ingenium diligentia etiam ex tarditate incitat. . . . Hæc præcipue colenda est nobis: hæc semper adhibenda: hæc nihil est quod non assequatur. . . . Reliqua sunt in cura, attentione animi, cogitatione, vigilantia, assiduitate, labore: complectar uno verbo, quo sæpe jam usi sumus, diligentia; qua una virtute omnes virtutes reliquæ continentur. 2. de Orat. n. 147, 148, 150.

3. The knowledge of the law, and its different customs, form properly the science of the lawyer; and to pretend to plead without those advantages, is to attempt the raising of a great building, without laying a foundation.

4. The talent of speaking constitutes an orator; it is, as it were, the instrument which enables him to make use of all the rest. But in my opinion, it is not enough cultivated. Whether it be the effect of idleness, or a confidence in ourselves, we generally think genius alone will enable us to excel in it. But Cicero is of another opinion. His endeavours to attain perfection in this particular, would seem incredible, did not he himself attest it in several places. He should be the model to youth in this and every thing else. To imbibe rhetoric from the very fountain, to consult able masters, to read carefully the ancients and moderns, to be constantly employed in composing and translating, and to make his language a particular study: these were the exercises which Cicero thought necessary to form the great orator.

5. But of all the qualifications of an orator, action and utterance are the most neglected; and yet nothing contributes more towards giving success to speeches. ^h That external eloquence, as Cicero calls it, which is adapted to the capacities of all auditors, in regard it speaks to the senses only, has something so enchanting and dazzling, that it often supplies the place of every other merit, and sets a lawyer of no great parts above those of the greatest abilities. ⁱ Every one has heard the celebrated answer of Demosthenes, concerning the qualification which he thought

^h Est actio quasi corporis quaedam eloquentia. Nam et infantes, actionis dignitate, eloquentiae saepe fructum tulerunt: et disertis, deformitate agendi, multi infantes putati sunt. Orat. n. 55, 56.

ⁱ Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus, summos saepe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum: huic secundas, huic tertias. 3. de Orat. n. 213.

thought most necessary in an orator, the want whereof could least be concealed, and which at the same time was best adapted to conceal the rest. This induced him to make incredible efforts to succeed in it. Cicero imitated him in that, as in every thing else; and he was in some measure obliged to it, from the desire he had to equal Hortensius, who excelled in that particular. The example of both ought to have great weight with young lawyers.

6. A great many of these, in my opinion, want a certain quintessence of polite literature, and erudition, which embellish however, and enrich the understanding vastly, and diffuse a delicacy and beauty over discourse, which it can have from no other source. The reading of ancient authors, the Greeks especially, is very much neglected. How closely did Cicero study them! Orators, poets, historians, philosophers, he was acquainted with them all, and made them all of service to him; and the latter more than the rest. Young lawyers ought not to attempt pleading too soon, but should employ their time, at their first setting out, in acquiring a valuable and necessary fund of knowledge, which cannot be attained afterwards. I own the practice of the bar is the best master, and most capable of making them great lawyers: but it should not consist, at first, in frequent pleading. There we listen assiduously to great orators, we study their genius, we observe their action, we are attentive to the opinions which the learned give of them; and thus we endeavour to improve equally by their perfections and defects.

7. If it should be asked, what is the proper age for being called to the bar, and pleading at it? I answer, that 'tis a thing which cannot be brought to any fixed rule; and Quintilian's advice upon this matter is very prudent. * "A medium, says he,
Y 2 " must

* *Modus mihi videtur quidam tenendus, ut neque praepropere distringatur immatura frons, et quicquid est illud adhuc acerbum proferatur.*

“ must be observed ; so that a youth should not expose himself in public before he is capable of doing it with advantage ; nor make a parade of his knowledge, whilst ’tis crude and undigested, if I may use the expression : for by that means he will despise pains and study ; impudence takes deep root in him ; and, what is a greater misfortune, confidence and boldness precede vigour and strength. But he must not, on the other hand, wait till he grows old, for then he will grow more timid every day ; and the longer he delays, the more fearful he will be to venture to speak in public : so that, whilst he is deliberating whether it is time to begin, he finds it is too late.”

8. It were very much to be wished, that the custom, observed formerly among the Romans, should take place among us ; and that the houses of old lawyers should be, as it were, the school of the youth designed for the bar. What can be more worthy a great orator, than to conclude the glorious course of his pleading, by so honourable a function ? We shall see, says Quintilian, a whole company of studious young people frequenting his house, and consulting him upon the proper methods of speaking. He forms them, as though he were the father of eloquence ; and, like an old experienced pilot, points out to them the course they are to steer, and the rocks they must shun, when he sees them ready to set sail.

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feratur. Nam inde et contemptus operis innascitur, et fundamenta faciuntur impudentiae, et (quod est ubique perniciosissimum) praerexit vires fiducia. Nec rursus differendum est tyrocinium in senectute. Nam quotidie metus crescit, majusque fit semper quod ausuri sumus ; et, dum deliberamus quando incipiendum sit, incipere jam seruum est. Quintil. l. 12. c. 6.

¹ Frequentabant ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum ; et veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabat quasi eloquentiae parens, et, ut vetus gubernator, littora, et portus, et quae tempestatum signa, quid secundis fluitibus, quid adversis ratis poscat, docebat. Quint. l. 12. c. 11.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of the Lawyer's Morals.

I Did not think proper to conclude this little treatise on the eloquence of the bar, without saying something of the lawyer's morals, and the chief qualifications requisite to his profession. Youth will find this subject treated in all the extent it deserves, in the twelfth book of Quintilian's institutions, which is the most elaborate and most useful part of his work.

I. *Probity.*

Cicero and Quintilian lay it down as an indisputable principle in several parts of their works, that eloquence should not be separated from probity; that the talent of speaking well supposes and requires that of living well; and that to be an orator, a man must be virtuous, agreeable to Cato's definition: *Orator vir bonus dicendi peritus.* ^m Without this, says Quintilian, eloquence, which is the most beautiful gift that nature can bestow upon man, and by which she has distinguished him in a particular manner from other living creatures, would prove a fatal present to him; and be so far from doing him any service, that she would rather treat him as a step-mother, and like an enemy rather than a mother, in imparting a talent to him for no other end, but to oppress innocence, and fight against truth, like the putting a sword into the hands of a madman. It would be better, adds he, that a man should be destitute of

Y 3; speech,

^m Si vis illa dicendi malitiam instruxerit, nihil sit publicis privatisque rebus perniciosius eloquentia Rerum ipsa natura, in eo quod precipue indulgisse homini videtur, quoque nos à caeteris animalibus separasse, non parens sed noverca fuerit, si facultatem dicendi sociam scelerum, adversam innocentiae, hostem veritatis invenit. Mutos enim nasci, et egere omni ratione satius fuisset, quam providentiae munera in mutuum perniciem convertere. Quint. l. 12. c. 1.

speech, and even of reason, than to employ them to such pernicious ends.

The slightest attention will discover how necessary honesty is to a pleader. His whole design is to persuade; and the surest way of effecting it, is to prepossess the judge in his favour, so that he may look upon him as a man of veracity and candour, full of honour and sincerity; who may be entirely trusted; is a mortal enemy to a lie, and incapable of tricks and cunning. In his pleadings, he should appear not only with the zeal of an advocate, but with the authority of a witness. The reputation he has acquired of being an honest man, will give great weight to his arguments: whereas when an orator is disesteemed, or even suspected by the judges, 'tis an unhappy omen to the cause.

II. *Disinterestedness.*

• The question treated by Quintilian in the last book of his rhetoric, whether lawyers ought to plead without fees or gratuity, does not square with the manners or customs of our days; but the principles he there lays down, suit all ages and times.

¶ He begins with declaring, that it would be infinitely more noble and becoming so honourable a profession, not to sell their service, nor debase the merit of so great a benefit, since most things may seem contemptible, when a price is set upon them.

¶ He afterwards owns, that if a lawyer has not estate

• Plurimum ad omnia momenti est in hoc positum, si vir bonus creditur. Sic enim continget, ut non studium advocati videatur asserere, sed pene testis fidem. Quint. l. 4. c. 1.

Sic proderit plurimum causis, quibus ex sua bonitate faciet fidem. Nam qui, dum dicit, malus videtur, utique male dicit. l. 6. c. 3.

Videtur talis advocatus malae causae argumentum. l. 12. c. 1.

• Quint. l. 12. c. 7.

¶ Quis ignorat quia id longe sit honestissimum ac liberalibus disciplinis et illo quem exigimus animo dignissimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem? cum pleraque hoc ipsi possint videri villa, quod pretium habent.

• At si res familiaris amplius aliquid ad usus necessarios exigat secundum omnes sapientium leges patietur sibi gratiam referri. . . . Neque enim video quae justior acquirendi ratio, quam ex honesti

estate enough of his own, he then is allowed by the laws of all wise legislators, to accept some gratuity from the party he pleads for ; since no acquisition can be more just than that which proceeds from such honest labour, and is given by those for whom we have performed such important services ; and who would certainly be very unworthy, if they failed to acknowledge them. Besides, as the time which a lawyer bestows upon other peoples affairs, prevents him from thinking of his own ; 'tis not only just, but necessary he should not lose by his profession.

^r But Quintilian would have the lawyer, even in this case, keep within very narrow bounds ; and be very watchful in observing the person from whom he receives any gratuity, together with the quantity, and time during which he receives it. By which he seems to insinuate, that the poor should be served *gratis*, and that he should take but moderately even from the rich : in fine, that the lawyer should forbear receiving any gratuity, after he has acquired a reasonable fortune.

^s He must never look upon what his clients offer him, as though it were a payment or a salary, but as a mark of friendship and acknowledgment ; well knowing he does infinitely more for them than they do for him ; and he must make this use of it, because a good office of that kind ought neither to be sold nor lost.

^t As

simo labore, et ab iis de quibus optime meruerint, quique si nihil invicem praestent, indigni fuerit defensione. Quod quidem non justum modo, sed necessarium etiam est, cum haec ipsa opera, tempusque omne alienis negotiis datum, facultatem aliter acquirendi recidant.

^r Sed tum quoque tenendus est modus : ac plurimum refert et à quo accipiat, et quantum, et quousque . . . Nec quisquam, qui sufficientia sibi (modica autem haec sunt), possidebit, hunc quaestum sine crimine sordidum fecerit.

^t Nihil ergo acquirere volet orator ultra quam satis erit : nec pauper quidem tanquam mercedem accipet, sed mutua benevolentia utetur, cum sciat se tanto plus praestitisse : quia nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.

As to the custom of making agreements with clients, and taxing them in proportion to the nature of the cause and the risque they run; 'tis, says Quintilian, an abominable kind of traffic, fitter for a pirate than an orator, and which even those, who have but a slender love for virtue, will avoid.

Far therefore from the bar, and so glorious a profession, says he in another place, be those mean and mercenary souls who make a trade of eloquence, and think of nothing but sordid gain. The precepts, says he, which I give concerning this art, don't suit any person who would be capable of computing how much he shall gain by his labours and study.

If a heathen has such noble sentiments and expressions, how much more glorious and disinterested should the views of a lawyer be according to the principles of Christianity? and indeed we see this spirit prevail among the Lawyers of France. They are so delicate in this point, as to debar themselves from bringing any actions for payment of their fees; and this they carry so far, that they would disown any member of their profession, who should commence any suit, or retain his client's papers, in order to oblige him to make some acknowledgment for the assistance he had given him.

III. *Delicacy in the Choice of causes.*

"As soon as we suppose the orator a worthy man, 'tis plain he can never undertake a cause he knows to be unjust. Justice and truth only have a right to the assistance

¹ *Paciscendi quidem illi piraticus mos, et imponentium periculis pretia procul abominanda negotiatio, etiam mediocriter improbis aberit.*

Neque enim nobis operis amor est: nec, quia sit honesta atque pulcherrima rerum eloquentia, petitur ipsa, sed ad vilem usum et sordidum lucrum aecingimur. . . . Ne velim quidem lectorem dari mihi quid studia referant computaturum. Quint. l. I. c. II.

"Non convenit ei quem oratorem esse volumus, injusta tueri scientem. . . . Neque defendet omnes orator: idemque portum illum eloquentiae suae salutarem, non etiam piratis patefaciet, ducetque in advocacionem maxime causa. Quint. l. 12. c. 1.

assistance of his voice. Guilt has no title to it, what splendor or credit soever it may appear to have. His eloquence is a sanctuary for virtue only, and a safe haven for all, except pirates.

^w Before therefore a man discharges the function of a lawyer, let him perform that of a judge; let him raise a kind of domestic tribunal in his closet, and there carefully, and without prejudice, weigh and examine the arguments of his clients, and pronounce a severe judgment against them, in case it be necessary.

^x If even, in the course of the affair, he happens by a stricter inquiry into the title, to discover that the cause he undertook, supposing it honest, is unjust; he then must give his client notice of it, and not abuse him any longer with vain hopes; and advise him not to prosecute a suit which would prove very fatal to him, even though he should gain it. If he submits to his advice, he will do him great service; if he despises it, he is unworthy of any farther assistance from his lawyer.

IV. *Prudence and moderation in pleading.*

These virtues are chiefly necessary on account of raillery. There are certain polite and becoming rules in this point, which every orator, and every gentleman should observe inviolably. It is not necessary to remark, that it ^y would be inhuman to insult people in disgrace, when their very condition entitles them to compassion, and who besides may be unfortunate, without being criminal. ^z In general, our raillery should

^u Sic causam perscrutatus, propositis ante oculos omnibus quae pro-sunt, noceantque, personam deinde induat iudicis, fingatque apud se agi causam. Ib. c. 8.

^x Neque vero pudor obliet quominus susceptam, cum melior videretur, litem, cognita inter discipulandum iniquitate, dimittat, cum prius litigatori dixerit verum. Nam et in hoc maximum, si aequi iudices sumus, beneficium est, ut non fallamus vana spe litigantem. Neque est dignus opera patroni, qui non utitur consilio. Ib. c. 7.

^y Adversus miseros inhumanus est jocus.

^z * Laedere nunquam velimus, longeque absit propositum illud, Potius amicum quam dictum perdidit. l. 6. c. 4.

* *Sum of opinion, that it ought to be read so, instead of ludere, as it is in all the editions.*

should be inoffensive ; and we must take care not to fall into the same error with those, who would lose a friend rather than a jest.

^a There is nothing but moderation in using jests, and prudence in applying them, that distinguish an orator, in this respect, from a buffoon. The latter uses them at all times, and without any occasion : whereas the orator does it seldom, and always for some reason essential to his cause, and never barely to raise ^b laughter ; which is a very trifling kind of pleasure, and argues a mean genius.

^c Repartees give occasion sometimes for delicate railery ; so much the more sprightly, as it is concise ; and as it flies in an instant like a dart, piercing almost before perceived. These pleasantries, which are neither studied nor prepared, are much more graceful than those we bring from our closets, and which often for that very reason, appear frigid and puerile. Besides, the adversary has no reason to complain because he brought the raillery upon himself, and can impute it to nothing but his own imprudence. ^d *Why do you bark ?* said Philip one day to Catulus, alluding to his name, and the great noise he made in pleading : *Because I see a thief*, answered Catulus.

^e Repartees of this kind require a great presence and celerity

^a *Temporis ratio, et ipsius dicacitatis moderatio, et temperantia, et raritas dictorum, distinguet oratorem à scurra : et quod nos cum causa dicimus, non ut ridiculi videamur sed ut proficiamus aliquid illi totum diem, et sine causa.* 2. de Orat. n. 247.

^b *Risum quaesivit : qui est, mea sententia, vel tenuissimus ingenii fructus.* Ibid. ^c *Dicacitas posita in hac veluti jaculatione verborum, et inclusa breviter urbanitate.* Q. 1. 6. c. 4.

Ante illud facete dictum haerere debet, quam cogitari posse videtur. 2. de Orat. n. 219.

Omnia probabiliora sunt, quae lacesiti dicimus, quam quae priores. Nam et ingenii celeritas major est quae apparet in respondendo, et humanitatis est responsio. Videremur enim quieturi fuisse, nisi esset lacesiti. 2. de Orat. n. 230.

Quaesita, nec ex tempore ficta, sed domo allata, plerumque sunt frigida. Orat. n. 89.

^d Catulus, dicenti Philippo: QUID LATRAS? FUREM, inquit VIDEO. de Orat. n. 220.

^e Opus est imprimis ingenio veloci ac mobili, animo praesentis acri. Non enim cogitandum, sed dicendum statim est, et prope sub conatu adversarii manus erigenda. Quint. 1. 6. c. 5.

celerity of mind, if we may use the expression ; for they afford no time for reflection ; and the blow must be given the instant we are attack'd. But they require great prudence and moderation. ^f For how much must a man be master of his temper, to suppress even in the very heat of action and debate, a smart saying or joke which starts up on a sudden, and might do us honour ; but would at the same time offend persons whom we are obliged to treat with deference ? The way to succeed in it, is to slight, and not pique ourselves upon so dangerous a talent ; and to acquire a habit of speaking moderately and with caution, in conversation and common life.

If a lawyer is not allowed to use harsh and offensive raillery, with how much more reason ought he to abstain from gross language ? ^g This is an inhuman kind of pleasure, unworthy of a gentleman, and which must necessarily disgust a prudent auditor. Yet some clients, often more solicitous to revenge than defend themselves, extort this kind of eloquence from the orator ; and are not pleased with him, if he does not dip his pen in the bitterest gall. But who is the lawyer, if he has any sentiments of honour or probity left, that would thus blindly gratify the spleen and resentment of his client ; become violent and passionate at his nod, and make himself the unworthy minister of another's foolish rage, from a sordid spirit of avarice, or a mistaken desire of false glory ?

V. Wise emulation remote from mean and low jealousy.

No place, in my opinion, is more proper to excite and cherish a lively and prudent emulation than the bar. It is a great concourse of people in whom
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^f *Hominibus facietis et dicacibus difficillimum est habere hominum rationem et temporum, et ea quæ occurrant, cum salissime dici possint, tenere.* 2 de Orat. n. 221.

^g *Turpis voluptas, et inhumana, et nulli audientium bono grata ; à litigatoribus quidem frequenter exigitur, qui ultionem malunt quam defensionem. Hoc quidem quis hominum liberi modo sanguinis sustineat, petulans esse ad alterius arbitrium ? . . . Orator à viro bono in tabulam latratoremque convertitur, compositus, non ad animum iudicis, sed ad stomachum litigatoris.* Q. l. 12. c. 9.

the most valuable qualities are united; as beauty and force of genius, delicacy of wit, solidity of judgment, a refined taste, a vast extent of knowledge, and long experience. There we see combats fought every day between famous champions, in the presence of learned and judicious magistrates, and amidst an extraordinary concourse of spectators, drawn thither by the importance of the affairs, and the reputation of the speakers. There eloquence exhibits herself in every shape; in one, grave and serious; in another, sprightly and gay; sometimes, unprepared and negligent; at others, in her finest attire; and arrayed with all her ornaments; diffusive or contracted, soft or strong, sublime and majestic, or more simple and familiar, as causes vary. Not a single word is there lost; no beauty, no defect escape the attentive and intelligent auditors: and whilst the judges on one hand, with the scale in their hands, in the presence and in the name of Supreme Justice, determine the fate of private persons: the public, on the other, in a tribunal no less inaccessible to favour, determine concerning the merit and reputation of lawyers, and pass a sentence, from which there is no appeal.

Nothing, in my opinion, can raise the glory of the bar more, than to see such a spirit of equity and moderation prevail in the body of lawyers, as gives every one his due, and banishes all jealousy and envy, and that amidst all those exercises which are so capable of fomenting self-love; and when the ancient lawyers, almost upon the point of quitting the lists, in which they have been so frequently crowned, joyfully see a new swarm of young orators entering, in order to succeed them in their labours, and support the honour of a profession that is still dear to them, and for which they cannot forbear interesting themselves; and when the latter, so far from suffering themselves to be dazzled by their growing reputation, pay a great deference to their seniors, and respect them as their fathers and masters: in a word, when the same emulation prevails among the young lawyers.

lawyers, which was seen formerly between Hortensius and Cicero, of which the latter has left us a fine description. ^h I was very far, says he, speaking of Hortensius, from looking upon him as an enemy, or a dangerous rival. I loved and esteemed him as the spectator and companion of my glory. I was sensible how advantageous it was for me to have such an adversary, and the honour which accrued to me from having sometimes an opportunity to dispute the victory with him. Neither of us ever opposed the other's interest. It was a pleasure to us to assist one another, by communicating our lights, giving advice mutually, and supporting each other by reciprocal esteem; which had such an effect, that each placed his friend above himself.

The bar therefore may be an excellent school for young lawyers, not only with regard to eloquence, but to virtue, if they are capable of improving by the good examples it affords. They are young and unexperienced, and consequently ought to determine little, but to hear and consult very much. How great soever their understandings or abilities may be, they yet ought to be very modest. This virtue, which is the ornament of their age, at the same time that it seems to conceal, sets off their merit the more. But above all, they should shun that mean kind of jealousy which is tortured at another's glory and reputation; that ought to ⁱ form the band of friendship and unity. They must, I say, shun jealousy, as the

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most

^h Dolebam quod non, ut plerique putabant, adversarium aut obestratorem laudum mearum, sed socium potius et consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram. — Quo enim animo ejus mortem ferre debui, cum quo certare erat gloriosius, quam omnino adversarium non habere? cum praesertim non modo nunquam sit, aut illius à me cursus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, sed contra semper alter ab altero adjutus et communicando, et monendo, et favendo. Brut. n. 2, 3.

Sic duodecim post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis, cum ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferebat, conjunctissime versati sumus. Ibid. n. 223.

ⁱ Aequalitas vestra, et artium studiorumque quasi finitima vicinitas, tantum abest ab obestratione invidiae, quae solet lacerare plerosque, uti ea non modo non exulcerare vestram gratiam, sed etiam conciliare videatur. Brut. n. 156.

most shameful of vices, the most unworthy a man of honour, and the greatest enemy to society.

SECTION IV.

Of the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT.

SAINTE Austin, in his excellent work, called *the Christian Doctrine*, which we cannot recommend too much to the professors of rhetoric, distinguishes two things in the Christian orator; what he says, and his manner of saying it; the things in themselves, and the method of discussing them, which he calls *sapienter dicere, eloquenter dicere*. I will begin with the latter, and conclude with the former.

FIRST PART.

Of the manner in which a Preacher ought to deliver himself.

^k Saint Austin, pursuant to Cicero's plan of the duties of an orator, tells us they consist in instructing, pleasing, and moving the passions. *Dixit quidam eloquens, et verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut fleat*ⁱ. He repeats the same thing in other terms, saying, the Christian orator must speak in such a manner as to be heard *intelligenter, libenter, obedienter*; viz. that we should comprehend what he says, hear it with pleasure, and consent to what he would persuade us.
^m For preaching has three ends: That the truth should be known to us, should be heard with pleasure, and move us. *Ut veritas pateat, ut veritas placeat, ut veritas moveat*. I shall pursue the same plan, and go through the three duties of a Christian orator.

I. DUTY

^k De doctr. chr. l. 4. n. 27.ⁱ N. 30.^m N. 61.

I. DUTY of a PREACHER.

To instruct, and for that end to speak clearly.

Since the preacher speaks in order to instruct, and has equal obligations to all, to the ignorant and the poor, as much and perhaps more than to the learned and the rich; his chief care should be to make himself clearly understood: every thing must contribute to this end: the disposition, the thoughts, the expression, and the utterance.

'Tis a vicious taste in some orators, ⁿ to imagine they are very profound, when much is required to comprehend them. They don't consider, that every discourse which wants an interpreter, is a very bad one. ^o The supreme perfection of a preacher's style should be to please the unlearned as well as the learned, by exhibiting an abundance of beauties for the latter, and being very perspicuous for the former. But in case those advantages cannot be united, ^p St. Austin would have us sacrifice the first to the second, and neglect ornaments, and even purity of diction, if it will contribute to make us more intelligible; because it is for that end we speak. This sort of neglect, which requires some genius and art, as ^q he observes after Cicero, and which proceeds from our being more attentive to things than to words, must

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not,

ⁿ Tunc demum ingeniosi scilicet, si ad intelligendos nos opus sit ingenio. Quintil. in præm. l. 8. c. 2.

Otiosum (or, vitiosum) sermonem dixerim, quem auditor suo ingenio non intelligit. Quintil. l. 8. c. 2.

^o Ita et sermo doctis probabilis, et planus imperitis erit. Ibid.

^p Cujus evidentiae diligens appetitus aliquando negligit verba cultiora, nec curat quid bene sonet, sed quid indicet atque intimet quod ostendere intendit. Unde ait quidam, cum de tali genere locutionis ageret, esse in ea quandam diligentem negligentiam. Haec tamen sic detrahit ornatum, ut sordes non contrahat. S. August. de doct. christ. l. 4. n. 24.

Melius est reprehendant nos grammatici, quam non intelligant populi. Id. in Psal. cxxxviii.

^q Indicet non ingratam negligentiam, de re hominis magis, quam de verbis, laborantis.—Quaedam etiam negligentia est diligens. Orat. n. 77, & 78.

not, however, be carried so far as to make the discourse low and groveling, but only clearer and more intelligible.

St. Austin wrote at first against the Manichees, in a florid and sublime style; whence his writings were not intelligible to those who had but a moderate share of learning, at least not without great difficulty. Upon this he was told, that if he desired to have his works more generally useful, he must write in the plain and common style, which has this advantage over the other, that it is equally intelligible to the learned and the unlearned. The holy father received this advice with his usual humility, and made proper use of it in the books he afterwards wrote against the heretics, and in his sermons. His example ought to be a rule to all those who are to instruct others.

As obscurity is the fault which the preacher should chiefly avoid, and that his auditors are not allowed to interrupt him, when they meet with any thing obscure; St. Austin advises him to read in the eyes and countenances of his auditors, whether they understand him or not; and to repeat the same thing by giving it different turns, till he perceives he is understood; an advantage which those cannot have, who by a servile dependence on their memories learn their sermons by heart, and repeat them as so many lessons.

That which generally occasions obscurity in discourse, is our endeavouring to explain ourselves always

^r Me benevolentissime monuerunt: ut communem loquendi consuetudinem non desererem, si errores illos tam perniciosos ab animis etiam imperitorum expellere cogitarem. Hunc enim sermonem usitatum et simplicem etiam docti intelligunt, illum autem indocti non intelligunt. De Gen. contra Mauich. l. i. c. i.

^s Ubi omnes tacent ut audiatur unus, et in eum intenta ora convertunt, ibi ut requirat quisque quod non intellexerit, nec moris est, nec decoris: ac per hoc debet maxime tacenti subvenire cura dicentis. Solet autem motu suo significare utrum intellexerit cognoscendi avida multitudo: quod donec significet, versandum est quod agitur multimoda varietate dicendi: quod in potestate non habent, qui praeeparata et ad verbum memoriter retenta pronunciant. S. Aug. de doct. christ. l. 4. n. 25.

^t Cavenda, quae nimium corripientes omnia sequitur, obscuritas; satiusque est aliquid (rationi) superesse, quam deesse—Vitanda illa

ways with brevity and conciseness. One had better say too much than too little. A style that is every where sprightly and concise, such as that of Sallust, or of Tertullian for instance, may suit works which are not intended to be spoken, and give the reader time and liberty to read them over and over again; but it is not proper for a sermon, the rapidity of which might escape the most attentive auditor. "It must not even be supposed, that he is always so; and consequently the discourse ought to be so clear, as to reach even the most unattentive, in like manner as the sun strikes our eyes, without our thinking of it, and almost in spite of us. The supreme effect of this quality does not consist in making ourselves understood, but in speaking in such a manner that we cannot be misunderstood.

The necessity of perspicuity in Catechists.

The necessity of the principle I have now laid down, appears in its greatest evidence, with regard to the first instructions given to young people, which I look upon as a primary kind of preaching, more difficult than is generally imagined, and oftentimes more useful than the brightest and most laboured discourses. 'Tis allowed that a catechist who teaches children the first elements of religion, cannot be too clear and intelligible. No thought or expression should fall from him above their capacities. Every thing ought to be adapted to their strength, or rather to their weakness. We must say but few things

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to

illa Sallustiana (quanquam in ipso virtutis locum obtinet) brevitās, et abruptum sermonis genus, quod otiosum fortasse lectorem minus fallit, audientem transvolat, nec dum repetatur expectat. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

"Idipsum in consilio est habendum, non semper tam esse acrem auditoris intentionem, ut obscuritatem apud se ipse discutiat, et tenebris orationis inserat quoddam intelligentiæ suæ lumen; sed multis eum frequenter cogitationibus advocari, nisi tam clara fuerint quæ dicemus, ut in animum ejus oratio, ut sol in oculos, etiam si non intendatur, incurrat. Quare, non ut intelligere possit, sed ne omnino possit non intelligere, curandum. Quint. l. 8. c. 2.

to them, express them clearly, and repeat them often; we must not speak hastily, or with rapidity, but pronounce every syllable articulately; give them short and clear definitions, and always in the same words; make the several truths evident to them by known examples, and familiar comparisons; speak little to them, and make them speak a great deal, which is one of the most essential duties of a catechist, and the least practised; and above all, must call to mind the happy saying of Quintilian, * that a child's mind is like a vessel with a narrow neck, in which no water will enter, if poured abundantly into it; whereas it fills insensibly, if the liquid be poured gently, or even by drops. The catechist must proceed gradually from these plain steps to something stronger and more elevated, according to the proficiency he observes in the children; but he must always take care to adapt himself to their capacity, and their weakness; and to descend to them, because they are not in a condition to raise themselves to him.

This task, which is one of the most important in the ecclesiastical ministry, is not, generally speaking, esteemed or respected enough. People seldom prepare themselves for it with the care it deserves; and as the difficulty and importance of it are little known, we too often neglect the means which might facilitate its success. Whoever takes this charge upon himself, ought to peruse, with great attention, St. Austin's admirable treatise upon the method of instructing catechumens, in which that great man, after laying down excellent rules upon this point, vouchsafes to propose a plan of the best method (in his opinion) for instructing them in the principles of religion.

I think

* Magistris hoc opus est, cum adhuc rudia tractabit ingenia, non statim onerare infirmitatem discipulorum, sed temperare vires suas, et ad intellectum audientis descendere. Nam ut vascula oris angustia superfusam humoris copiam respuunt, sensim autem influentibus, vel etiam insillatis, complentur; sic animi puerorum quantum accipere possint videndum est. Nam majora intellectu velut parum aptos ad percipiendum animos non subibunt. Quint. l. i. c. 3.

I think it would be of great advantage to form a general scheme or plan for catechising in parishes, to serve as a foundation for all the instructions necessary, and regulate both the matter and disposition; so that all the catechisms might contain the same instructions, but treated in a more or less extensive manner, as the children should be more or less improved. These catechisms may be divided into three classes, the first for beginners, the second for those who have already received some instruction, and the third for such as are more advanced, and are prepared for receiving the first communion, or have lately received it. I suppose children to continue in each class about two years; in which time, the plan I have now mentioned, be it what it will, is to be explained to them (for it is highly reasonable to leave it to the choice and prudence of the person who is at the head of the catechists) always subjoining the catechism of the diocese. The matters should at first be treated briefly, and in general-terms, because they are calculated for children. M. Fleury's catechism is excellent for beginners, and may be looked upon as the execution of the plan which St. Augustine gives us in his treatise. The same matters are repeated in the second and third classes; but in a new method, which is always an improvement of that which preceded, by adding to it new lights, and more efficacious truths. Would not religion be thus taught thoroughly? I have seen some children, even among the poor, make surprisingly clear responses upon very difficult subjects, which could be owing to nothing but the master's order and method of teaching, and which shews that young people are capable of every thing when they are well instructed.

I own, that nothing is more tedious or distasteful to a man of genius, who often has a great deal of vivacity, than thus to teach the first principles of religion to children, who very often want either capacity or attention. But must not others have had the same patience with us, when they taught us the alphabet,

alphabet, orthography, and the joining of words; and when we ourselves learnt the catechism? * Is it agreeable to a father, says St. Austin, to stammer out half words with his son, in order to teach him to speak? Yet this gives him great pleasure. Does not a mother take more delight in putting aliment into her infant's mouth suitable to its weak and tender condition, than to take the nourishment proper for herself? We must perpetually call to mind the tenderness of a hen who covers her young ones with her extended wings; and hearing their feeble cries, calls them with a faltering voice, in order to shelter them from the bird of prey, who unrelentingly snatches away such as do not fly for safety to their mother's wings. † The love and charity of Christ, who vouchsafed to apply this comparison to himself, has been infinitely more extensive, and it was in imitation of him, that St. Paul ‡ *made himself weak with the weak, in order to gain the weak; and had, for all the faithful, the gentleness and a tenderness of a nurse and a mother.*

§ This, says St. Austin, is what we must represent to ourselves, when we are tired or disgusted; when we are weary of descending to the *puerility* and weakness of children; and to repeat incessantly to them the most trite things, and run them over a hundred times. It often happens, continues the same father, that we take a singular pleasure, in shewing friends newly arrived at the city we live in, whatever is beautiful, uncommon, or curious; and the

* Num delectat, nisi amor invitet, decurtata et mutilata verba immurmurare? Et tamen optant homines habere infantes quibus id exhibeant: et suavius est matri minuta mansa inspuere parvulo filio, quam ipsam mandere ac devorare grandiora. Non ergo recedat de pectore etiam cogitatio gallinae illius, quae languidulis pennis teneros fetus operit, et susurrantes pullos contracta voce advocat: cuius blandas alas refugientes superbi, praeda sunt alitibus. De catech. rudib. c. 10. et 12.

† Matt. xxiii. 37.

‡ 1 Cor. ix. 22.

§ 1 Thess. ii. 7.

¶ Si usitata, et parvulis congruentia saepe repetere fastidimus . . . si ad infirmitatem discipulorum piget descendere . . . cogitemus quid nobis praerogatum sit ab illo . . . qui, cum in forma Dei esset, se metipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens. Ibid. cap. 10.

the sweetness of friendship diffuses a secret charm over things which would otherwise appear exceeding tiresome; and gives them, as to ourselves, all the graces of novelty. ^c Why should not charity produce the same effects in us that friendship does, especially when the thing proposed tends towards making God himself known to men, who ought to be the end of all our knowledge, and of all our studies?

I thought it my duty to enlarge a little upon the manner of framing catechisms, which is not foreign to the end I propose to myself in this article, *viz.* of instructing youth in what relates to the eloquence of the pulpit. It is now time to proceed to the second duty of preachers.

II. DUTY of a PREACHER.

To please, and for that end, to speak in a florid and polite manner.

St. Austin recommends to the preacher, to endeavour first, and above all things, to be clear and perspicuous, but he does not pretend he must confine himself to that only. He would not have truth divested of the ornaments of speech, which it alone has a right to employ. ^d He would have human eloquence subservient to the word of God; but not the word of God made the slave of human eloquence. It often happens, that we cannot reach the heart but through the understanding, and that in order to affect the one, we must please the other. ^e It is an extraordinary quality, in his opinion, to love and to search in the words only the things themselves, and not the words: but he owns, at the same

^c Quanto ergo magis delectari nos oportet, cum ipsum Deum jam discere homines accedunt, propter quem discenda sunt, quaecunque discenda sunt? Ibid. c. 12.

^d Nec doctor verbis serviat, sed verba doctori. De doct. christ. l. 4. n. 61.

^e Bonorum ingeniorum insignis est indoles, in verbis verum amare, non verba. . . . Quod tamen si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suus pervenit fructus. Ibid. n. 26.

same time, that this quality is very uncommon; that in case truth is represented without ornaments, it will affect very few. ^f That speech, like food, must be palatable in order to make it agreeable; and that in both, we must pay a regard to the delicacy of mankind, and gratify their taste in some measure.

It was for the same reason, that the fathers of the church were far from forbidding those who were called to the ministry of the word, the reading of ancient authors and profane learning. ^g St. Austin declares, that all the truths found in heathen authors are our own, and consequently, we have a right to claim them as our property, by taking them out of the hands of those unjust possessors, in order to employ them to a better use. ^h He would have us leave to heathen writers their profane words and superstitious fictions, which every good Christian ought to abominate, after the example of the Israelites, who by the command of God himself plundered Egypt of her gold and most precious garments, without touching their idols; and that we should take from the heathen authors, those truths we find in them, and which are, as it were, the silver, the gold, and ornaments of discourse; and clothe our ideas with them, in order to make the one and the other subservient to the preaching of the gospel. ⁱ He cites a great number of fathers who made this use of them, in imitation of Moses himself,

^f Sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem vescentes atque discentes, propter fastidia plurimorum etiam ipsa, sine quibus vivi non potest, alimenta condienda sunt. Ibid.

^g De doct. christ. l. 2. n. 6.

^h Sic doctrinae omnes gentilium, non solum simulata et superstitiosa figmenta . . . quae unusquisque nostrum duce Christo de societate gentilium exiens debet abominari atque devitare: sed etiam liberales disciplinas usui veritatis aptiores, et quaedam morum praecepta utilissima continent . . . quae tanquam aurum et argentum debet ab eis auferre christianus ad usum justum praedicandi evangelii. Vestem quoque illorum . . . accipere atque habere licuerit, in usum convertenda christianum. De doct. christ. l. 2. n. 60.

ⁱ Nonne aspicimus quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Aegypto Cyprianus doctor suavissimus, et martyr beatissimus? lb. n. 61. Vir eloquentia pollens et martyrio. S. Hieron.

himself, who was carefully instructed in all the wisdom of the Ægyptians.

St. Jerom treats the same topic more at large, in a fine letter ^k, where he justifies himself from the reproaches of his adversaries, who imputed it as a crime in him, that he had employed profane learning in his writings. After pointing out several places in the scriptures, where heathen authors are cited, he makes a long enumeration of the ecclesiastical writers, who also made use of their testimonies, in defence of the Christian religion. Among the holy writers, he had named St. Paul, who quotes several passages from the Greek poets. ^l “ And indeed, says he, he had learnt from the true David the way of forcing the enemy’s weapon out of his own hand, in order to fight him; and to cut off the head of the proud Goliath with his own sword.”

It were therefore much to be wished, that those who are designed for the pulpit should begin by imbibing eloquence at its source, that is, from the Greek and Latin authors, who have been always looked upon as masters in the art of speaking. ^m The sacred orator should have learnt from them the distribution of the several ornaments of discourse, and this not barely to please the auditor, much less to gain a reputation, (motives which even heathen rhetoric thought unworthy its orator.) But in order to make truth more amiable to men, by rendering her more lovely; and to engage them by this kind of innocent allurements,

to

^k Quaeris cur in opusculis nostris secularium literarum interdum ponamus exempla, et candorem ecclesiae Ethnicorum sordibus pollutus. S. Hieron. epist. ad Magnum.

^l Didicerat à vero David extorquere de manibus hostium gladium, et Goliae superbissimi caput proprio mucrone truncare. Ibid.

^m Illud, quod agitur genere temperato, id est ut eloquentia ipsa delectet, non est propter seipsum usurpandum, sed ut rebus quae utiliter honesteque dicuntur . . . aliquanto promptius et delectatione ipsa elocutionis accedat, vel tenacius adhaereat assensus. . . . Ita fit etiam temperati generis ornatu non jactanter, sed prudenter utatur, non ejus sine contenti, quo tantummodo delectatur auditor: sed hoc potius agentes, ut etiam ipso ad bonum, quod persuadere volumus, adjuvetur. S. Aug. de doct. christ. l. 4. n. 55.

to relish her holy sweetness, and to practise her salutary lessons with greater diligence and sincerity.

It is well known that St. Ambrose's eloquence had this effect on St. Austin, though he was still charmed with the beauties of profane eloquence. ⁿ That great bishop preached the word of God to his people with so many charms and graces, that all his auditors were transported with a kind of divine enthusiasm. ^o St. Austin fought only in the sermons of that preacher the flowers of language, and not the solidity of sense; but it was not in his power to separate them. He thought to have opened his understanding and heart to the beauties of diction only; but truth entered at the same time, and soon gained an absolute sovereignty over them.

He himself made the same use of eloquence afterwards. We find the people were so ravished with his sermons, that they bestowed the utmost applauses on them. He was, however, very far either from seeking or affecting those applauses; for his humility was so great, that they really afflicted him, and made him fear the secret and subtle contagion of that poisoned vapour. ^p But whence should such frequent acclamations arise, but from this, *viz.* that truth, thus illustrated and placed in her utmost splendor by a truly eloquent man, charms and transports the mind of man.

I cannot here avoid exhorting my readers to peruse M. Arnaud's little treatise, intituled, *Reflections on the Eloquence of Preachers*. He there refutes part of the preface which M. du Bois his friend had prefixed to his translation of St. Austin's sermons, in which he pre-

tende

ⁿ Veni ad Ambrosium episcopum cujus tunc eloquia strenue ministrabat adipem frumenti tui et sobriam vini ebrietatem populo tuo. Confess. l. 5. c. 13.

^o Cum non satagerem discere quae dicebat, sed tantum quemadmodum dicebat audire veniebant in animum meum simul cum verbis quae diligebam, res etiam quas negligebam: neque enim dirimere poteram. Et dum cor aperirem ad excipiendum quamvis sermo diceret, pariter intrabat et quam vere diceret. Ibid. c. 14.

^p Unde autem crebro et multum acclamatur ita dicentibus, quia veritas sic demonstrata, sic defensa, sic invicta, delectat? Doct. christ. l. 4. n. 56.

tended to shew, that most preachers followed a manner of preaching contrary to that of St. Austin, by making too much use of human eloquence, which he thought improper for sermons. This preface had dazzled great numbers, and was very much applauded. But they were greatly astonished, when M. Arnaud's little treatise appeared, to find that almost the whole preface was founded upon false principles and reasonings. It may be of use, and agreeable at the same time, to compare these two treatises, by first reading the preface, in order to see if we can find any fault in it; and then by examining the refutation, to see whether it be just and solid, and supported by sound arguments.

The principle I have laid down from St. Austin's rules, *viz.* that the Christian orator may, and even ought to strive to please the auditor, must be kept within certain limits, and requires some illustration. Two defects must be avoided in preaching, the one consists in taking too much pains about the ornaments and graces of discourse, and the other in neglecting them. I shall say something of each.

FIRST DEFECT.

Taking too much pains about the Ornaments.

It is very blameable in a Christian orator, to endeavour more at pleasing than instructing his auditors, and to be more solicitous about words than things; to rely too much on his labour and preparation; to enervate the force of the truths he is denouncing, by a puerile affectation of bright thoughts; in a word, to adulterate and corrupt God's word, by a vicious mixture of trifling ornaments.

¶ St. Jerom, whose taste for eloquence and the graces of discourses are well known, could not suf-

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A a

fer

¶ *Nolo te declamatorem esse et rabulam, garrulumque sine ratione. . . .*

Verba volvere, et celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est. S. Hieron. ep. ad Nepot.

fer the Christian orator, (neglecting to instruct himself and others in the very principles of religion) to employ himself only as a declaimer, to please people; nor that the august eloquence of the pulpit should degenerate into a vain parade of words, fit for nothing more than to gain a little trifling applause. ^r St. Ambrose was of the same opinion, and would banish absolutely that kind of embroidery from preaching, whose only effect is to make thoughts more languid. *Aufer mihi lenocinia fucumque verborum, quia solent enervare sententias.*

God tells us in Ezekiel, how much he detested the unhappy disposition of the Israelites, ^s who, instead of improving by the sad predictions of his prophet, and being alarmed by them to their advantage, went to hear him only for diversion sake, as to a concert of music. How much would he have reproached the prophet himself, had he given occasion for so shameful an abuse, through any fault or neglect of his own, by endeavouring merely to gratify the ears of his auditors by a soft harmony and an empty sound of words? This is the just character of sermons, of which nothing remains but the unprofitable remembrance of the pleasure they gave when spoke.

A certain heathen complained, that in his time these light graces of style, which ought to be employed in subjects of a less grave and serious nature, had done a kind of violence to good sense and reason; and possessed themselves, as it were, by force, even of the suits or causes in which the lives and fortunes of men were debated. ^t *In ipsa capitis aut fortunarum pericula irrupit voluptas.*

How much more ought this abuse to be condemned in religious discourses, in which the gravest, and at the same time the most awful subjects are handled? In which it is intended, for instance, to humble and intimidate the sinner in order to his salvation, by repre-

sending

^r Comment. l. 8.

^s Et es eis quasi carmen musicum, quod suavi dulcique sono cantatur: et audiunt verba tua, et non faciunt. Ezek. xxxiii. 32.

^t Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

senting the horrors of death to be nearer him than perhaps he imagines; the cry of the blood of Christ Jesus, which demands vengeance for having been so long profaned; the anger of a justly exasperated God, ready to fall upon his head; and hell open under his feet, in order to swallow him up?

Is a preacher excusable, amidst such great truths as these, to employ himself wholly on an empty pomp of elocution; to go in search of bright thoughts, to make his periods harmonious, and to crowd a set of empty figures one upon the other? What becomes in the mean time of that grief and sadness which ought to pierce his soul whilst he is discoursing on such subjects, and which ought to make his whole discourse one continued groan, as it were? Might we not justly be angry, should the preacher endeavour to display his genius, and had leisure to act the fine speaker, at a time when thunder and lightning only should appear, and the most lively and animated emotions of the soul?

SECOND FAULT.

The being too negligent of the Ornaments of Speech.

Another fault in preaching, much more common than the former, and of infinitely worse consequence, is, the being too careless of the elocution; the not having a sufficient respect for the auditory, the appearing before it without almost any preparation, the speaking extempore whatever occurs, frequently without order, choice, or justness; and by this affected negligence, giving the hearers a distaste and contempt

A a 2

for

"An quisquam tulerit reum in discrimine capitis, decurrentibus periodis, quam laetissimis locis sententiisque dicentem? . . . Quò fugerit interim dolor ille? Ubi lachrymae substiterint? Unde se in medium tam secura observatio artium miserit? Non ab exordio usque ad ultimam vocem continuus quidam gemitus, et idem tristitiae vultus servabitur? . . . Commoveatur ne quisquam ejus fortunâ, quem tumidum ac sui jactantem, et ambitiosum insitorem eloquentiae in ancipiti sorte videat? Non imo oderit reum verba aucupantem, et anxium de fama ingenii, et cui esse disertio vacet. Quint. l. II. c. I.

for the word of God, which in itself is worthy of engaging the esteem and awe of mankind, and ought to be their sweetest consolation, their most solid glory.

The aim and design which every worthy preacher proposes in addressing himself to Christians, is to persuade, in order to incline them to virtue, and to give them an abhorrence for vice; but all do not employ the necessary means to those great ends, nor study to speak in a persuasive manner. It is this forms the difference between good and bad preachers.

^u The latter, says St. Austin, preach in a gross, disagreeable and cold manner, *obtusè, deformiter, frigide*, the former, with ingenuity, beauty, and strength, *acutè, ornatè, vehementer*.

The salvation of most Christians, as well as their faith, depend on the word; but this word must be treated with art and skill, in order that the minds of people may be prepared to receive it. The ornament of speech is one of the means conducive to this purpose, and the reason of it is very plain; viz. the auditor must not only hear what is spoke, but hear it willingly: ^x *volumus non solum intelligen-ter, verum etiam libenter audiri*. Now how can he hear it willingly, unless he is induced by pleasure? ^y *Quis tenetur ut audiat, si non delectetur?* ^z *Quis eum (oratorem) velit audire, nisi auditorem nonnulla etiam suavitate detineat?* But this ornament of speech is not incompatible with simplicity; for this simplicity must not be gross, tedious and distasteful: ^a *Nolumus fastidire etiam quod submis- se dicimus*. There is a medium between a far-fetched, florid, luminous, and a low, grovelling, careless stile: and it is the medium between these that suits the preacher. ^b *Illa quoque eloquentia generis temperati apud eloquentem ecclesiasticum, nec inornata relinquitur, nec indecenter ornatur.*

Christians

^u De doct. christ. l. 4. n. 7.

^x N. 56.

^y N. 58.

^z N. 56.

^a Ibid.

^b N. 57.

Christians would know much more than they do, were they to frequent regularly their parish churches, which they are more indispensibly obliged to do than is generally imagined; and were sermons written and delivered as they ought to be, which is a duty no less incumbent on the preacher. What affliction, what grief must those feel, who have some idea of the importance of this ministry, to see their churches generally empty, or very thin; especially if they are conscious that it is their cold, languid, tiresome, and often long-winded manner of speaking, which prevents their parishioners from coming to hear them? Hereby they are wanting in the most important duty of their function: they deceive the expectations of their hearers, who run eagerly in order to supply their necessities, but are obliged to return empty. They degrade the word of God by their careless delivery, and cause it to be looked upon with contempt and distaste. They dishonour the Divine Majesty, whose ambassadors they are; and do not consider that should the envoy of an earthly monarch behave in this manner, he would be justly looked upon by his sovereign as a prevaricator.

They are far from observing the conduct of that Greek * orator, who never spoke in public till he had duly prepared himself for it; and besought the gods before he came out of his house, not to suffer one word to fall from him unworthy of his auditors: or of that Roman orator, who though so eminent, declares, ^d that he never pleaded any cause, till after he had taken all the pains requisite for that purpose. I dare not translate the words which Quintilian ^e levels against that lawyer, who should be wanting in this duty, so essential to his profession, but which is

A a. 3,

much

* *Legatione fungimur.*

* *Pericles.*

^d *Ad illam causarum operam nunquam nisi paratus et meditatus accedo. L. 1. De leg. n. 12.*

^e *Afferet ad dicendum curæ semper quantum plurimum poterit. Neque enim solum negligentis, sed et mali, et in suscepta causa perfidi, ac proditoris est, pejus agere quam possit. Quint. l. 12. c. 9.*

much more so to that of a minister of the word of God, on which the salvation of his hearers depends.

I am sensible, that the multitude of affairs, in which such pastors as are careful of their duty must be engaged, allow them but very little time to prepare their sermons. But we are not here treating of pieces of eloquence, laboured and polished with the utmost care; which requires a long application, and consequently a complete leisure. The preacher, who besides a natural genius, has some learning; and who joins to these qualities a strong zeal for the salvation of Christians, never fails of success; and is sure of applause, when he lays down his discourse with order, delivers solid and pathetic things, corroborates them by texts of scripture, and observes not to make his discourse too long. Such a preparation as this, (and it is indispensable) does not take up a vast deal of time.

Is any part of the ministerial function more important, more necessary, more worthy of the pastoral zeal, than the care of the poor, and that of administering the sacraments? ^f Nevertheless we see, on one side, that the apostles, when assembled to remedy the complaints, which the distribution of the alms had occasioned among the faithful; think themselves obliged to lay aside this so holy duty, rather than to leave off preaching the word of God, for which they were expressly commanded to postpone every thing else; and on the other side, when St. Paul, so well instructed in the duty of an apostle, and so indefatigable in his labours, declares expressly, *2 that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.* Preaching is therefore the chief function of apostles, bishops, and pastors of every denomination; to which they ought to apply themselves with all the vigour they are capable of, removing with an inflexible severity, whatever is incompatible with this first and most essential of their duties.

This

^f Acts vi. 2.

² 1 Cor. i. 17.

This precept and example has been given us by all those great saints, whose learned and eloquent discourses have done so much honour to the christian world, though most of them possessed the highest dignities in the church, and were vigilant in defending it against heresies.

^b St. Gregory Nazianzen, though he despised the disposition of words, and those empty delicacies which only please the ear, was yet very far from neglecting what might be of use to elocution, ⁱ as he observes more than once. * I have reserved, says he, eloquence only; and I do not repent the pains and fatigue I have suffered by sea and land, in order to attain it; I could wish for my own and my friends sakes, that we possessed all the force of it. . . . ^k This alone remains of what I once possessed, and I offer, devote and consecrate it to my God. The voice of his command, and the impulse of his spirit, have made me abandon all things beside, to barter all I was master of, for the precious stone of the gospel. Thus then I am become, or rather I wish ardently to become that happy merchant, who exchanges contemptible and perishable goods, for others that are excellent and eternal. But being a minister of the gospel, I devote myself solely to the art of preaching: I embrace it as my lot, and will never forsake it. . . . ^l In another place, he thanks his flock, in that their incredible ardour for the word of God was his consolation against the injurious and malicious discourses vented by his enemies against his eloquence, which he indeed had acquired by the study of profane authors; but had raised and ennobled by the study of the sacred writings, and by the vivifying wood of the cross, which had taken away all its bitterness. He adds, that he is not of opinion of many others, who would have people be contented with a dry, simple, unadorned, flat discourse; who

cover

^b Orat. 15.

ⁱ Orat. 3.

* St. Gregory Nazianzen had undertaken several voyages, purposely to study eloquence under the ablest masters.

^k Orat. 12.

^l Orat. 27.

cover their laziness or ignorance with a contemptuous disdain of their adversaries; and pretend therein to imitate the apostles; not considering that miracles and prodigies were to them instead of eloquence.

^m St. Ambrose in the very place where he exhorts preachers to make their discourses pure, simple, clear, weighty and solid, adds, that as they must not be affectedly elegant, so neither must they be devoid of beauties and graces. And he himself always practised what he inculcated to others.

Was ever pastor more employed, or more devoted to good works than St. Austin? ⁿ But then his zeal, no less enlightened than fervent, did not engross any part of the time requisite for preparing what was necessary for the instruction of the faithful. One would conclude, that at first his sermons were written down, and got by heart; because he then had more leisure, and more occasion to use this precaution. Afterwards, he contented himself with searching for the sense of such passages of scripture as he intended to explain; to display the truths they contained, and to find out texts to support and illustrate them; which research, and his preaching, cost him no little pains, as he himself tells us in the conclusion of his fourth discourse on the ciii. Psalm. *Magno labore quæsitæ et inventæ sunt, magno labore nunciata et disputata sunt: sit labor noster fructuosus vobis, et benedicat anima nostra Dominum.* The insatiable ardour with which his auditors used to hear him, is a manifest proof that he was a very able preacher; was very laborious in preparing, and careful in the delivery of his sermons.

I have purposely reserved St. Chrysostom for the last, because none of the fathers have insisted more on the subject in question than he has done. In his beautiful discourse on the priesthood, which is justly considered as his master-piece, he lays it down as an

incon-

^m Oratio sit pura, simplex, dilucida atque manifesta, plena gravitatis et ponderis: non affectata elegantia, sed non intermissa gratia. Offic. lib. i. cap. 22. ⁿ Epist. lxxiii.

incontestable principle, that the chief duty of bishops, and consequently of all pastors, consists in the instruction delivered from the pulpit: because by that alone, they are enabled to teach christians the truths of religion, to inspire them with a love for virtue, draw them out of the paths of vice; and support them in the severe trials they must undergo, and the combats they must daily sustain against the enemies of their salvation. Without this support, a poor church may be compared to a city attacked on all sides, and without defence; or to a ship driven by storms, and without a pilot. The word in the mouth of a pastor, is like a sword in the hand of a warrior; but this sword must be managed with art and dexterity; or to speak more plainly, a pastor must very assiduously prepare the sermons and other discourses he is obliged to deliver in public; and must use his utmost efforts to acquire this talent, since on it depends the salvation of most of the souls committed to his care.

But here it will be objected; if this be true, why did St. Paul neglect the acquiring this talent; and why did he not scruple to own, that *he was rude in speech*, and that too in writing to the Corinthians, who set so high a value upon eloquence?

This expression, says St. Chrysostom, the sense and depth of which has not been discovered, has deceived multitudes, and by them been made use of as a handle to vindicate their own sloth. If St. Paul was ignorant, as you say, how came he to confound the Jews at Damascus, having not yet wrought any miracles? How was it possible for him to vanquish the Greeks in argument, and why did he not retire to Tarsus? Was it not after he had gained so complete a victory, by the power of his discourse, that unable to bear the ignominy of their defeat they resolved to put him to death? Of what did he make use in his contest with the citizens of Antioch, who were resolved to embrace the Jewish ceremonies?

Did

* Χρὴ τὸν ἱερίᾳ πάντα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτην κτήσασθαι τὴν ἰσχύν.

† Imperitus sermone. 2 Cor. xi. 6.

Did not the senator of the Areopagus, who inhabited the most superstitious, and at the same time the most learned city in the world, and his wife, follow him, after hearing but one of his discourses? How did that apostle employ his time in Thessalonica, in Corinth, in Ephesus, and even in Rome itself? Did not he spend whole days and nights in explaining the sacred writings? Need we relate his various disputes with the Epicureans and Stoics? How audacious then must those be, who after this would give the title of ignorant to St. Paul? He, whose disputations and sermons were universally admired; He, whom the Lycaonians imagined to be Mercury, undoubtedly because of his eloquence?

It may happen, that pastors full of zeal, charity, and at the same time very capable of presiding over men, may however not be endued with a talent for preaching, nor able to instruct their flock. In this case, the example of Valerius bishop of Hippo, who because he was not conversant in the Latin tongue, made St. Austin preach for him and in his presence is a rule for them; and authorizes them to employ others in those functions to which they themselves are unequal. ¶ Such country rectors as are not capable of composing sermons, may have recourse to books. There is purposely calculated for them, a set of short and easy homilies adapted to the meanest capacities; these they may either read to their congregation, or get others to read for them.

St. Austin would not condemn this practice; he being of opinion, that when a pastor is not capable of writing a sermon, he may get it done by another, and after learning it by heart, deliver it as though he himself were the author. The reason of which

¶ M. P. Abbé Lambert.

¶ Sunt quidam, qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuncient excogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriaeque commendunt, atque a populo proferant: si eam personam gerunt, non improbe faciunt. De doct. christ. lib. iv. n. 62.

is, that some method or other must be used to instruct the people.

III. DUTY of a PREACHER.

To affect and move the passions of his auditors, by the strength of his discourse.

Though we ought to set a high value on a discourse, which is not only very perspicuous, but graceful and eloquent; it must however be owned, that the great, the surprising effects of eloquence are not produced either from that of a simple and mediate, or of an embellished and florid kind, but from the sublime and pathetic. By the two former, the orator pleases and instructs; and he may be satisfied with producing these two effects, when he speaks of speculative truths which require only our belief, and consent; and regard the understanding, rather than the heart and affections, if we may admit any such in religion. But it is not so when practical truths are proposed, which are to be put in execution. And indeed to what purpose would it be, should the auditor be convinced of what he hears, and applaud the eloquence of the speaker, if he did not love, embrace and practise the maxims preached to him? in case the orator does not arrive at this third degree, he goes but half way; for he ought to please and instruct, only with the view of affecting. It is in this St. Austin, after Tully, makes the complete victory of eloquence to consist. Every discourse that leaves the auditor calm does not move and agitate him, and also deject, overthrow, and vanquish his obstinate resistance; how beautiful soever such a piece may appear, it is not truly eloquent. The business is, to inspire him with horror for his sins, and with a dread of God's judgments; to remove the delusive charm which blinds him, and to force open his eyes; to make him hate what he loved, and love what he hated; to root out from his heart his strong darling,
ardent

ardent passions, of which he is no longer master, and which have gained an absolute ascendant over him; in a word, to urge, to force him from himself; from his desires, his joys, and every thing that constitutes his felicity.

I am sensible that nothing but the all-powerful grace of Christ Jesus can affect a heart in this manner, and create such wonderful changes in it. To think otherwise, and to expect in some measure this effect from the efficacy of words, the graces of speech, the solidity of arguments, or the strength of expressions, would be, to speak with St. Paul, to ^s annihilate the cross of Christ, and divest him of the honour of converting the world, to ascribe it to human wisdom. ^t For this reason St. Austin would have the Christian orator rely much more on prayer than on his abilities; and before he speaks to them, would have him address the Creator, who only can inspire him with what he ought to speak, and the manner in which it is to be spoken. ^u But as we employ the natural remedies which physic prescribes; though we are sensible that all their effect is owing to God, who is pleased to make them subservient to our recovery, but without subjecting his power to theirs; in like manner, the Christian orator may, and ought to employ all the methods, all the assistance which rhetoric can supply, but without putting his confidence in it; and in full persuasion,

* *Misit me Christus evangelizare, non in sapientia verbi, ut non evacuetur crux Christi.* 1 Cor. i. 17.

^t *Noster iste eloquens . . . haec se posse, pietate magis orationum, quam oratorum facultate, non dubitet, ut orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit orator, antequam distor. . . . Et quis facit ut quod oportet, quemadmodum oportet, et dicatur à nobis, nisi IN CUJUS MANU SUNT ET NOS ET SERMONES NOSTRI?*

^u *Sicut enim corporis medicamenta, quae hominibus ab hominibus adhibentur, non nisi eis prosunt, quibus Deus operatur salutem, qui et sine illis mederi potest, cum sine ipso illa non possint, et tamen adhibentur . . . ita et adjumenta doctrinae tunc prosunt animae adhibita per hominem, cum Deus operatur ut prosint, qui potuit evangelium dare homini etiam non ab hominibus, neque per hominem.* S. Aug. de doctr. chr. l. 4. c. 15. & 16.

sion, that it will be to no purpose for him to speak to the ears, if God does not speak to the hearts.

Now it is the sublime and pathetic stile, great and lively images, strong and vehement passions, which force our assent and captivate the heart. ^u Instruction and arguments have enlightened and convinced the mind; the graces of speech have won it, and by their seducing charms, have prepared the way to the heart. The next thing is, to enter and take possession of it; but this is what only the grand, the powerful eloquence can effect. The reader may turn back to what was said on this subject in the article of the sublime. I shall now give some extracts from the fathers, which will be more instructive than any reflections I can make on this subject.

EXTRACT from ST. AUSTIN.

* **T**HIS illustrious Saint employed the precepts of this triumphant eloquence on an important occasion, which he himself has related. It was at Hippo, when he was but a private priest, and at the time that Valerius the bishop made him preach in his stead. The festival of St. Leontius bishop of Hippo being nigh, the people murmured at their being hindered to celebrate it with the usual rejoicings, that is, to assemble in the churches at feasts, which degenerated into drunkenness and debauchery. St. Austin, knowing that the people murmured, began on Wednesday, the eve of the Ascension, to preach to them on that subject, upon occasion of the gospel

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^u Oportet igitur eloquentem ecclesiasticum, quando suadet aliquid quod agendum est, non solum docere ut instruat, et delectare ut teneat, verum etiam flectere ut vincat. Ipse quippe jam remanet ad consensionem flectendus eloquentiae granditate, in quo id non egit usque ad ejus confessionem demonstrata veritas, adjuncta etiam suavitae dictionis. Ibid. cap. 13.

* S. August. epist. 29. ad Alypium.

of the day, in which these words were read: *y Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.*

As there were but few auditors at this discourse, and that a great many among these were gainfayers, he spoke again on the same subject on the morrow, being Ascension day, to a more numerous assembly, in which the gospel of the buyers and sellers, who were drove out of the temple, was read. He himself read it over again, and showed how much more solicitous Christ would have been to banish dissolute feasts from the temple, than a traffic innocent in itself. He also read several other passages of scripture against drunkenness. He heightened his discourse with groans, and the most lively marks of the deep sorrow, in which his love for his brethren had plunged him: and after interrupting it by some prayers which he caused to be repeated, he again began to speak with the utmost vehemence; setting before their eyes the general danger to which the common people were exposed, as well as the priests, who are to render an account of their souls to the great pastor. “I conjure you, says he, by his humiliations, his sufferings, his crown of thorns, his cross and his blood, at least have pity on us, and consider the love and charity of the venerable Valerius, who out of tenderness for you, entrusted me with the formidable ministry, to declare the word of God unto you. He has often told you how overjoyed he was at my coming hither: but his view in this was, that I might be the minister of your salvation, and not of your damnation.” St. Austin added, that he hoped this would never come to pass; and that in case they would not submit to the authority of the Divine Word he had preached to them, they would yield to the chastisements, which he did not doubt God would inflict upon them in this world, to prevent their being damned in the other. He spoke this in so affecting a manner,

ner, that he drew tears from his congregation, and could not refrain from weeping himself. "It was not, says he, my weeping over them that drew tears from their eyes; but whilst I was speaking, their tears prevented mine. I must confess that I was then melted. After we had wept together, I began to have strong hopes of their amendment."

^z The morrow which was the feast-day, he was informed that some murmured, and cried, "What's doing now? Were not those who permitted this custom hitherto, Christians?" ^a St. Austin, not knowing how to stagger them, was in great perplexity. He had resolved to read to these obstinate people that passage in ^b Ezekiel, where it is said, that the centinel is discharged when he has given warning of the danger; and afterwards to shake his garments over the people, and to return home. However, God spared him this affliction, and the murmurers were no longer able to resist so lively and eloquent a charity.

There is no doubt, but that the solidity and beauty of the discourse, was of service in preparing the way, and affecting the minds of his hearers; but a circumstance which overthrew those murmurers, and gained St. Austin a complete victory, was his blending the sublime and pathetic, with that softness and tenderness we have mentioned elsewhere. ^c The two others may procure acclamations; but the sublime and pathetic bear down, as it were, every thing with their weight, and, instead of applauses, force tears from the hearers.

B b 2

EXTRACT

^a Cum illuxisset dies cui solebant fauces ventresque se parare.

^b Quo audito, quas majores commovendi eos machinas præpararem, omnino nesciebam.

^b Ezek. xxxiii. 9.

^c Non sane, si dicendo crebrius et vehementius acclametur, ideo granditer putandus est dicere: hoc enim et acumina submissi generis, et ornamenta faciunt temperati. Grande autem genus plerumque pondere suo voces premit, sed lachrymas exprimit. S. August. de doctr. Christ. l. iv. cap. 24.

EXTRACT *from* ST. CYPRIAN.

THE extract I here give is borrowed from the beautiful epistle of this illustrious bishop to Pope Cornelius, upon occasion of those persons, who having fallen during the persecution, demanded haughtily to be restored to the sacraments, though they had not done the penance required on those occasions, and had even the boldness to employ menaces.

“ If those sinners, says St. Cyprian, will be received into the church, let us see what idea they have of the satisfaction they ought to make ; and what fruits of repentance they bring. The church here is not shut against any person : The bishop does not reject any one. We are ready to receive with patience, indulgence and mildness, all those who present themselves before us. It is my desire that all return into the church : It is my desire that all who fought with us, should rally under the standards of Christ Jesus ; and return to his heavenly camp, and into the house of God his father. I remit as much as I possibly can ; I wink at a great many things, from the ardent desire I have to reunite our brethren to us. I do not even examine with all the severity, which piety and the Christian religion require, such offences, as have been committed against God ; and I commit sin perhaps myself, in too easily remitting the sins of others. I embrace, with the ardour and the tenderness of an entire charity, those who return with sentiments of penitence, those who confess their sins, and atone for them with humility, and a simplicity of heart. But is some think to enter again into the church by threats, and not by prayers ; and to force open the doors of it by terror, and not to gain admittance by atonement and tears ; they are to know that the church is for ever shut against such persons.”

“ sons ; and that the invincible camp of Christ Jesus, fortified by the almighty power of God, who is the protector of it, is not to be forced by human insolence. The priest of the Lord who follows the precepts of the gospel may be kill'd, but he cannot be overcome. *Sacerdos Dei evangelium tenens, et Christi praecepta custodiens, occidi potest, non vinci.*”

In my opinion, this extract, which displays both the paternal mildness of a holy bishop, and the invincible courage of a martyr, may be proposed as a perfect model of the strongest and most sublime eloquence, equal in every respect to that of Demosthenes.

EXTRACTS from ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM against
OATHS.

SAINT Chrysostom, in his homilies to the inhabitants of Antioch, often exclaims against those, who for temporal interest, obliged their brethren to swear on the altar, and by that means often occasioned their taking of false oaths. “^d What are you doing, wicked wretch, says he? You require an oath on the holy table; and you sacrifice cruelly your brother on the same altar where Jesus Christ, who sacrificed himself for you, lies? Thieves assassinate, but then they do it in secret; but you, in presence of the church, our common parent, murder one of her children, in which you are more wicked than Cain; for he concealed his guilt in the desert, and only deprived his brother of a transitory life; but you plunge your neighbour into everlasting death, and that in the midst of the temple, and before the face of the Creator! Was then the Lord's house built for swearing, and not for prayer? Is the sacred altar to occasion the committing of crimes, instead of expiating them? But if every other religious

B b 3

“ sentiment

^d Homil. 15. ad pop. Antioch.

“ sentiment is extinguished in you, revere, at least,
 “ the holy book, with which you present your brother
 “ to swear upon. Open the holy gospel, on
 “ which you are going to make him swear, and upon
 “ hearing what Christ Jesus says of swearing,
 “ tremble and withdraw. And what does Christ
 “ say there? *c It has been said by them of old time,*
 “ *thou shalt not forswear thyself. . . . But I say unto*
 “ *you, swear not at all.* How! you make people
 “ swear on that very book which forbids the taking
 “ of oaths? Impious procedure! Horrid sacrilege!
 “ This is making the legislator, who condemns murder,
 “ an accomplice in the guilt of it.

“ I shed fewer tears when I hear that a person
 “ has been murdered on the highway, than when
 “ I see a man go up to the altar, lay his hand on the
 “ holy book of the gospels, and take his oath aloud.
 “ On this occasion, it is impossible for me to keep
 “ from changing colour, from trembling, and shivering,
 “ both for him who administers, and for
 “ him who takes the oath. Miserable wretch! to secure
 “ to thyself a doubtful sum of money, thou losest
 “ thy soul! Can the benefit thou reapest, be put
 “ in competition with thine and thy brother’s loss?
 “ If thou knowest, that he from whom thou exactest
 “ an oath is a good man, why then art thou not
 “ contented with his word? But if he is not, why
 “ dost thou force him to forswear himself?

“ But here you will answer, that without this,
 “ your proof would have been imperfect, and you
 “ would not have been believed. What is that to the
 “ purpose? It is in fearing to require the oath, that
 “ you will appear worthy of belief, and be easy in
 “ your mind. For, in fine, when you are got home,
 “ does not your conscience reproach you? Don’t you
 “ say to yourself, was I in the right to exact an oath
 “ from him? Is he not forsworn? Am not I the cause
 “ of his committing so dreadful a crime? On the other

“ther side, what a consolation must it be, when being returned home, you can say to yourself, Blessed be God, I put a restraint upon myself; I have prevented my brother from committing a crime, and possibly from taking a false oath! May all the gold, all the riches in the universe perish, rather than that I infringe the law, or force others to violate it.”

† In the foregoing homily, St. Chrysostom, after having related to his auditors in what manner St. John Baptist had been put to death, because of the oath that Herod had made; exhorts them to preserve the remembrance of so tragical an event, and to take warning by so dreadful an example; on which occasion he employs the most lively and sublime figures. “I bid each of you yesterday bring into his house, the still bleeding head of St. John Baptist, and to image to yourselves his eyes animated with a holy zeal against oaths, and his voice, which, still raising itself against that criminal custom, seems to speak thus to you: Fly and detest swearing, for this cost me my life, and occasions the greatest crimes. And indeed, continues St. Chrysostom, what neither the generous liberty of the holy forerunner, (the Baptist) nor the violent anger of the King, who saw himself publicly reprov’d, could effect, was yet brought to pass by the ill-grounded fear of perjury; and St. John’s death was the effect and consequence of the oath. I again repeat the same thing to you: Represent to yourselves perpetually that holy head, which is for ever reproaching blasphemers; and this reflection alone will be as a salutary bridle to your tongues, and keep them from venting blasphemies.”

† Homil. xiv.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT of ST. CHRYSOSTOM's *Discourse on EUTROPIUS's Disgrace.*

EUTROPIUS was favourite to the Emperor Arcadius, and had an absolute ascendant over his master. This monarch, who discovered as much weakness when his ministers stood in need of his protection, as imprudence in raising them, was forced, in spite of himself, to abandon his favourite. Eutropius thereupon fell from the highest pitch of grandeur into an abyss of misery. The only friend he then found, was St. John Chrysostom, whom he often had treated injuriously, and who yet had the pious generosity to receive him in the sacred asylum of the altars, which he had endeavoured to abolish by various laws he had enacted against them, and to which he nevertheless fled in his calamity. The next day, on which the holy mysteries were to be celebrated, the people ran in crowds to the church, there to behold in Eutropius a lively image of human weakness, and of the vanity of worldly grandeur. The holy bishop treated this subject in so lively and moving a manner, that he changed the hatred and aversion which the people had for Eutropius, into compassion, and drew tears from the whole congregation. We are to observe, that it was usual with St. Chrysostom to address the great and the powerful, even in the height of their prosperity, with a strength and liberty truly episcopal.

“ & If ever there was reason to cry, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*, it is certainly on this occasion.
 “ Where is now that splendor of the most exalted dignities? Where are those marks of honour and distinction? What is become of that pomp of feasting and rejoicing? What is the issue of those frequent acclamations and extravagantly flattering encomiums, lavished by a whole people assembled
 “ in

“ in the Circus to see the public shews ? A single
 “ blast of wind has stript that proud tree of all its
 “ leaves, and after shaking its very roots, has for-
 “ ced it in an instant out of the earth ? Where are
 “ those false friends, those vile flatterers, those pa-
 “ rasites so assiduous in making their court, and in
 “ discovering a servile attachment by their words
 “ and actions ? All this is gone and fled away, like
 “ a dream, like a flower, like a shadow. We
 “ therefore cannot too often repeat these words of
 “ the holy Spirit, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.*
 “ They ought to be written in the most shining let-
 “ ters, in all places of public resort, on the doors
 “ of houses, and in all their apartments ; but much
 “ more ought they to be engraved in our hearts,
 “ and be the perpetual subject of our meditation.

“ Had I not just reason, says St. Chrysostom, ad-
 “ dressing himself to Eutropius, to set before you
 “ the inconstancy of riches ? You now have found
 “ by your own experience, that like fugitive slaves
 “ they have abandoned you ; and are become, in
 “ some measure, traitors and murderers with re-
 “ gard to you, since they are the principal cause of
 “ your fall. I often repeated to you, that you
 “ ought to have a greater regard to my reproaches,
 “ how grating soever they might appear, than to
 “ the insipid praises which flatterers were perpetu-
 “ ally lavishing on you, because, ^h *Faithful are the*
 “ *wounds of a friend ; but the kisses of an enemy are*
 “ *deceitful.* Had not I just reason to address you in
 “ this manner ? What is become of the crowd of
 “ courtiers ? They have turned their backs ; they
 “ have renounced your friendship ; and are solely
 “ intent upon their own interest and security, even
 “ at the expence of yours. We submitted to your
 “ violence in the meridian of your fortune, and
 “ now you are fallen, we support you to the ut-
 “ most of our power. The church against which
 “ you

^h Prov. xxvii. 6.

“ you have warred, opens its bosom to receive you,
“ and the theatres, the eternal object of your fa-
“ vour, which had so often drawn down your in-
“ dignation upon us, have abandoned and betrayed
“ you.

“ I do not speak this to insult the misfortunes of
“ him who is fallen, nor to open and make wounds
“ smart that are still bleeding ; but in order to sup-
“ port those who are standing, and teach them to
“ avoid the like evils. And the only way to avoid
“ these, is, to be fully persuaded of the frailty and
“ vanity of worldly grandeurs. To call them a
“ flower, a blade of grass, a smoke, a dream, is
“ not saying enough, since they are even below no-
“ thing. Of this we have a very sensible proof be-
“ fore our eyes. What man ever rose to such an
“ height of grandeur ? Was he not immensely rich ?
“ Did he not possess every dignity ? Did not the
“ whole empire stand in fear of him ? And now,
“ more deserted, and trembling still more than the
“ meanest of unhappy wretches, than the vilest
“ slave, than the prisoners confined in dungeons ;
“ having perpetually before his eyes swords un-
“ sheathed to destroy himself ; torments and exe-
“ cutioners ; deprived of day-light at noon-day, and
“ expecting every moment that death which perpe-
“ tually stares him in the face.

“ You were witnesses yesterday, when people
“ came from the palace in order to drag him hence,
“ how he ran to the holy altars, shivering in every
“ limb ; pale and dejected, scarce uttering a word
“ but what was interrupted by sobs and groans, and
“ rather dead than alive. I again repeat, I do not
“ declaim in this manner in order to insult his fall,
“ but to move and affect you by the description of
“ his calamities, and inspire you with tenderness
“ and compassion for one so wretched.

“ But some hard-hearted, merciless persons, who
“ are even offended at us because we suffered him
“ to take sanctuary in the church, say, was not that
“ very

very man its most inveterate enemy, and made laws for shutting up that sacred asylum? It is so indeed, answers Chrysostom; but we ought to glorify God the more, in thus obliging so formidable an enemy of it, to come and pay homage both to the power of the church and to its clemency. To its power, since his persecution of it caused his fall; to its clemency, since notwithstanding all his injurious treatment, forgetting what is past, he is shrouded by its wings, is covered by its protection as though it were a shield, and is received into the holy sanctuary of those altars, which he himself had often attempted to destroy. No victories or trophies could reflect so much honour on the church. So generous an action, of which only the church is capable, covers the Jews and Infidels with shame. To afford protection publicly to a sworn enemy, fallen into disgrace, abandoned and become universally the object of contempt and abhorrence; to discover more than a maternal tenderness for him; to oppose at one and the same time the anger of the Emperor and the blind fury of the people; in this consists the glory of our holy religion.

"You declare with indignation, that he made laws for shutting up this sacred asylum. But, O man! whosoever thou art, art thou then allowed to remember the injuries that have been done thee? Are we not the servants of a crucified God, who said, as he was breathing his last, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* And that man, now prostrate before the altar, and exposed to the sight of the whole world, does not he appear in person to annul his own laws, and acknowledge that they were unjust? What a glory does this reflect on this altar, and how awful, how dreadful is it become, since it keeps that lion in chains before our eyes? Thus, what exalts the splendor of a monarch, is not his being cloth-

"ed

ⁱ Luke xxiii. 34.

“ed in purple and sitting on his throne, but his
 “treading under foot vanquished and captive barbarians

“I see that our temple is as much crowded as at
 “the solemn feast of Easter. What a lesson does
 “the sight you now behold, afford; and how much
 “more eloquent is the silence of this man, reduced
 “to so miserable a condition, than all our discourses? The rich man needs but enter in here, to
 “see the following words of scripture verified:
 “** All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is*
 “*as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the*
 “*flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord blow-*
 “*eth upon it.* And the poor man is taught on this
 “occasion to form a quite different judgment of his
 “condition, than he generally does; to be even
 “pleased with his poverty, which is to him a sanctuary, a haven, a citadel; by affording him security, and preserving him from those fears and
 “alarms which he sees are caused by riches.”

St. Chrysostom's design in this discourse, was not only to instruct his hearers, but to move them to compassion, by the lively description he gave of Eutropius's misfortunes. And indeed he had the consolation, as was before observed, to draw tears from the whole congregation, notwithstanding their great aversion to Eutropius, who was justly considered as the author of all the calamities both public and private. When St. Chrysostom perceived this, he proceeded in this manner: “Have I calmed your
 “sentiments? Have I softened your anger? Have
 “extinguished inhumanity in your minds? Have
 “raised your compassion? Yes, I certainly must
 “have effected all this; for the frame of mind
 “now behold you in, and the tears which trickle
 “down your cheeks are a certain proof of it. Since
 “then your hearts are become more tender, and
 “the glow of charity has melted their ice, and softened
 “their rigour; let us go together and thro

“ou

* *Iſai. xl. 6, 7.*

“ ourselves at the Emperor’s feet ; or rather, let us
“ beseech the God of mercy to soften his heart, and
“ incline him to pardon Eutropius.”

This discourse had the desired effect, and St. Chrysostom saved the life of that unhappy man. But some days after, Eutropius having been so imprudent as to leave the church, in order to make his escape, he was taken and banished to Cyprus, where he was afterwards seized and carried to Chalcidon, and there beheaded.

EXTRACT from the first Book of the Priesthood.

Saint Chrysostom had an intimate friend, Basilus by name, who had persuaded our saint to leave his mother’s house, and lead a recluse and solitary life with him. As soon as my afflicted mother, says St. Chrysostom, heard of this, she took me by the hand, carried me into her chamber, and setting me down by her on the bed where she was delivered of me, she began to weep, and spake to me in such tender words, as affected me much more than her tears. “ Son, says she, God would not suffer me
“ to enjoy long your father’s virtue. By his death,
“ which happened soon after the pangs I had suffered
“ in bringing you into the world, you became
“ an orphan, and I a widow, sooner than was for
“ either of our advantages. I have suffered all the
“ troubles and afflictions of widowhood, which cannot
“ be conceived by any but those who have gone
“ through them. No words can express the storms
“ to which a young woman is exposed, who is but
“ just come from her father’s house ; is wholly un-
“ acquainted with affairs ; and who being over-
“ whelmed with grief, is obliged to devote herself
“ to new cares, too weighty for her age and sex.
“ She must make up the negligence of her servants,
“ and guard against their malice ; must defend
“ herself from the evil designs of her neighbours.”

Vol. II. C c bours;

“ bours ; must suffer perpetually the injurious
 “ treatment of the farmers of the revenues, and
 “ the insolence and barbarity they exercise in levy-
 “ ing the taxes.

“ When a father leaves children behind him, if
 “ it be a daughter, I am sensible the care of her
 “ must be very heavy upon the widow her mother ;
 “ however, this care is supportable, since it is not
 “ attended either with fear or expence. But if it
 “ be a son, the educating of him will be much
 “ more difficult ; this fills her with perpetual ap-
 “ prehensions, not to mention how expensive it is
 “ to get him well educated. However, these sever-
 “ al evils could never prevail upon me to marry.
 “ I have continued fixed and immovable, amidst
 “ these storms and tempests ; and trusting above all
 “ in the grace of God, I determined to suffer all
 “ those troubles which are inseparable from widow-
 “ hood.

“ But my only consolation in these afflictions was
 “ to behold you perpetually, and to contemplate
 “ in your face, the living, the faithful image of my
 “ deceased husband : a consolation which I received
 “ in your infancy, and when you was yet incapable
 “ of speaking, at which season parents find the
 “ greatest pleasure in their children.

“ I have not given you reason to say, that I indeed
 “ supported my present condition with courage, but
 “ that I lessened your father's possessions, to extricate
 “ myself from those difficulties ; a misfortune that
 “ often befalls minors. For I have preserved for you
 “ all he left you, though I did not spare any expence
 “ for your education ; this I paid myself out of the
 “ portion given me by my father. I don't say this, my
 “ son, by way of reproaching you with the obligati-
 “ ons you owe me. The only favour I ask in return,
 “ is, that you would not reduce me to widowhood a
 “ second time. Don't open a wound that was begin-
 “ ning to heal ; at least stay till I am dead, and

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“ perhaps I may be so very soon. Those who are
“ young may hope to grow old; but at my age I am
“ to expect nothing but death. After you have buried
“ me in the same grave with your father, and join-
“ ed my bones to his ashes, then undertake such
“ long journies, and sail on whatever sea you please,
“ for no one will hinder you: but so long as the
“ breath is in my body, bear with my presence, and
“ don’t be tired of living with me. Don’t draw down
“ upon yourself the wrath of heaven, as you will do,
“ should you so sensibly afflict a mother, who de-
“ serves the best from you. Should I offer to en-
“ gage you in worldly concerns, and you to under-
“ take the management of my affairs which are your
“ own; I then will allow you to have no regard or
“ consideration for the laws of nature; the pains I
“ have taken in bringing you up; the respect which
“ is due to a mother, or any such motive; but shun
“ me as the enemy of your repose, and as one who
“ is laying snares to ruin you. But in case I do all
“ that lies in my power, to make your life easy and
“ happy, let this consideration at least prevail upon
“ you, if all others should fail. How many friends
“ soever you may have, none of them will allow you
“ to live with so much liberty as I do; and indeed,
“ no one so passionately wishes your advancement
“ and felicity.”

St. Chrysostom was unable to resist these tender expressions, and though his friend Basilus continued his solicitations, he could not be prevailed upon to leave a mother so very indulgent, and so highly worthy of his love.

Do we meet with any thing among heathen authors more beautiful, more lively, more tender, or more eloquent, than the discourse before us, but of that simple and natural eloquence which infinitely excels the most shining strokes of elaborate art? Is there one far-fetched thought in it, or any uncommon or affected turn? Is not the whole dictated by nature itself? But the circumstance I admire the most in it, is,

the inexpressible reservedness of a deeply afflicted mother, who though excessively afflicted, does not however vent one passionate expression, or complain of him who was the cause of her violent uneasiness, I mean Basilus. But undoubtedly his virtue checked her resentments on this occasion, or her fear that such words would exasperate her son, whom she desired to work upon by soft and gentle methods.

PART the SECOND.

The Learning requisite in a Christian Orator.

WHAT I have hitherto delivered, relates only to the stile and method proper for the Christian orator, and which St. Austin calls *eloquenter dicere*. It remains for me to treat that which forms the knowledge indispensably necessary to a preacher, which the abovementioned Saint calls, *sapienter dicere*.

Without this learning,¹ a preacher, how eloquent soever he might appear, would be but a mere declaimer; and so much the more dangerous to his hearers, as the more agreeable to them, and as by dazzling them with this false splendor, he might accustom them to mistake an empty sound of words for truth, which is the only solid food of the mind. It is well known, says St. Austin, how greatly the heathens themselves, who were not enlightened by Divine Wisdom, but guided only by reason and good sense, despised this false species of eloquence; what are we therefore to think of it, who are the children, and the ministers of this very wisdom?

It is but too usual with many who prepare for preaching, to be more studious about embellishing their discourses, than of filling them with solid truths.

Never-

¹ Qui assuit insipienti eloquentia, tanto magis cavendus est, quanto magis ab eo in iis quae audire inutile est, delectatur auditor, et eum, quoniam diserte dicere audit, etiam vere dicere existimat. S. Aug. lib. iv. de doct. christ. c. 5.

Nevertheless it is a maxim in rhetoric, established by all who have written on that art, that the only way to speak well, is to think well or justly; and to be able to do the latter, a person must be well instructed, be a master of his subject; and his mind must be adorned with a variety of knowledge.

in Scribendi rectè sapere est et principium et fons.

It was from philosophy, and especially in that of Plato, the ancients imagined that fund of knowledge might be imbibed, which only can form the good orator.

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ.

This made Cicero so carefully enjoin this study; and he confesses, as was observed elsewhere, that if he has made any advances in eloquence, he owes it more to philosophy than to rhetoric.

But Christian orators have infinitely more pure and more abundant sources, whence they ought to draw this fund of knowledge. These springs are the scripture and the fathers. What riches do they contain? And how culpable would that person be, who should neglect so precious a treasure? That man who is much conversant in them, will easily be master of elocution. The just thoughts and great truths with which his mind will be stored, will naturally suggest proper expressions; and such an orator can never want words:

Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.

Of the study of the Scriptures.

A preacher ought to make the sacred Writings his chief study: and St. Austin lays it down as an incontestable principle, that the Christian orator will be more or less able to deliver himself with justness and

C c 3

foli-

^m Horat. de art. poet.

ⁿ Fateor me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiae spatiiis. extitisse. Oratorum 12.

solidity, in proportion to his knowledge of the scriptures: *o Sapienter dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit.*

All the religion, and all the knowledge of man for this life and for that which is to come, consists in knowing the only true God and Christ whom he has sent: *p Hæc est vita æterna, ut cognoscant te solum Deum verum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum.* What can be wanting in that man who possesses this double knowledge? And where can it be taken but from the sacred writings? *q Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor? O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God? Who can boast, r that he has all the riches of the full assurance of understanding to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ? Those only, s to whom God will make known what are the riches of the glory of this double mystery: that is, the evangelists and apostles, who can say, t We have received . . . the spirit of God; we know the mind of Christ.* It is known that this gift was indulged to St. Paul in an eminent degree, who declared, *u I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified? all other things, x he counted but loss, in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus.* *y He declares in more places than one, that his vocation is, z to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to make all men see, what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world, hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ.*

What is a preacher of the Gospel properly, but an Ambassador sent by the Creator to men, to declare his designs to them; to lay before them the conditions of the covenant he will make with them; and of the

peace

* De doctr. christ. l. iv. c. 5. † 1 Cor. ii. 12, et 16.

p Joan. xvii. 3. u 1 Cor. ii. 2.

q Rom. xi. 34, et 35. x Philip. iii. 8.

r Coloss. ii. 2. y Coloss. iv. 3. et 4.

s Coloss. i. 27. z Ephes. iii. 8, 9.

peace he will condescend to grant them, agreeable to that majestic expression of St. Paul, *y We are ambassadors for Christ?* Now, from whom should an ambassador receive his instructions, or the words he is commanded to deliver to those he is to treat with, but from the master who sent him? Was this made St. Paul exhort the Ephesians to offer up prayers continually for him; in order, says he, *z that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel, . . . that therein I may speak boldly.* And the same apostle declares in another place, *that all things are of God, who hath reconciled us unto himself by Jesus Christ, a and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation.*

When can preachers say truly to their hearers, *b Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us. . . . c We speak before God in Christ, or rather, d it is Jesus Christ speaks in us,* unless when the truths they declare, and the proofs by which they support them, are drawn from the sacred writings, and are warranted from God's word? These are likewise infinitely fruitful, whether we desire to inculcate the tenets, or to explain mysteries; or would unfold the principles of morality, or censure vices: *e All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction and righteousness.*

It must be confessed, that the truths which are declared to Christians, are much stronger, and make a much greater impression, when they are thus invested with the divine authority; because every man, at the same time that he has an idea of the Deity, has naturally a veneration for Him. Besides, these truths take much deeper root in the mind, when they are joined with some passages of scripture, the sense and energy of which have been shewn. The

hearer

y 2 Cor. v. 20.

z Ephes. vi. 19, 20.

a 2 Cor. v. 15.

b 2 Cor. v. 20.

c Ibid. xii. 19.

d Ibid. xiii. 3.

e 2 Tim. iii. 16.

hearer may have the text explained before his eyes, which makes him much more attentive ; at least he has it at home, and by reading it, he easily recalls whatever was said to explain it. But a bare citation, often very short, and of which the auditor has seldom notice, passes away with great rapidity, leaves no trace behind it, and is lost and confounded in the rest of the discourse. We cannot expect much fruit from instructions, when they are founded merely on human reasons.

“ One might follow, says the archbishop of Cambray in his dialogues on eloquence, where he lays down excellent rules for preaching ; one might follow many preachers twenty years, and not be instructed in religion in the manner we ought. I have often observed, says he elsewhere, that there is no art or science but is taught from principles, and methodically ; whilst religion only is not taught after that method. A little, dry catechism, which they do not understand, is given them in their infant years to learn by heart ; after which, they have no other instructions but what they can gather from loose, indigested sermons. I wish that Christians were taught the first elements of their religion, and were instructed with order and method to the highest mysteries. This was the practice of the earlier ages of the church. Ministers used to begin with catechisms, after which they taught the gospel regularly by homilies, whereby Christians became perfectly acquainted with the whole word of God.”

In this manner pastors taught anciently their flocks ; and the chief preparation they judged necessary for this important duty, which they looked upon with great terror, was the study of the sacred writings. I shall content myself with citing here, the testimony and example of St. Austin. Valerius his bishop had ordained him priest, almost in spite of himself, in the view chiefly of making

him

him exercise the ministry of preaching; and indeed, he a little after obliged him to it. Who can express the fears, the inquietudes and alarms, with which St. Austin was seized at the sight of this function? And yet many look upon it as a sport, though this great man trembled at the sight of it. But what was wanting in him, either with regard to genius, or the knowledge necessary in a preacher? And this his bishop represented to him. ^f He himself owns, that he was well enough acquainted with all those things which relate to religion; but then he imagined, that he was not sufficiently able to distribute those truths to others, so as to conduce to their salvation; and this made him request so earnestly, that some time at least might be allowed him, in order to prepare himself for it, by the study of the holy scriptures, by prayer and by tears. "But if," says he in his beautiful petition to his bishop, "after having learned from experience the qualifications required in a man, who is entrusted with the dispensation of the sacraments and of the word of God; you will not allow me time to acquire what I am sensible is wanting in myself, you would then have me perish? Valerius, my dear father, where is your love and your charity? . . . For what answer shall I be able to make to the Lord when he will judge me? Shall I tell him, that after I had once accepted of ecclesiastical employments, it was not possible for me to inform myself in those things which were necessary to enable me to discharge them as I ought?"

All that St. Austin thought on this subject, the several fathers of the church, who were charged with the ministry of preaching, have thought and practised in the same manner: St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom did thus, and pointed out the same course to their successors. This study therefore is necessary to all, and may be of vast use. There are a great number of clergymen, who though

^f Epist. 21. ad Valer.

though of small abilities in other respects, are however to instruct children, the common people or peasants, whom the bare study of the holy scriptures, and especially of the New Testament, will enable to acquit successfully of their duty; and in whom this study, if carefully followed, will supply what they may want with regard to learning and eloquence. § St. Austin advises, that the poorer they find themselves, the more they ought to borrow the riches of the scripture; that they should take from these an authority they could never have had for themselves, by enforcing their own words with their testimony; and that they should find in its greatness and strength, the means to grow in strength of mind, and to fortify themselves by those divine aids.

The Study of the Fathers.

But in order to discharge the more worthily, so sublime and important a ministry, we must join to the study of the sacred writings, that of the doctors of the church, who are the true interpreters of it, and whom Christ, the sole sovereign of men, condescended to associate in that honourable quality, by enlightening them particularly with his word.

The eloquence of the pulpit has an advantage over that of the bar, which is not sufficiently valued, nor, in my opinion, sufficiently practised. In the latter, the orator draws almost every thing he is to say from his own understanding. He may make use of some thoughts, and some turns, borrowed from the ancients; but then he is not allowed to copy them: and though he were allowed this, his subject would seldom admit of it. But it is otherwise with a preacher; for what subject soever he may treat, a spacious field is open to him in the Greek and Latin fathers, where he is sure

§ Quanto se pauperiorem cernit in suis, tanto eum oportet in illis esse ditiozem: ut quod dixerit suis verbis, probet ex illis: et quod propriis verbis minor erat, magnorum testimonio quodammodo crescat. De doct. christ. l. 4. c. 5.

to find all the most just and solid particulars which can be said on the same head ; not only principles and their consequences ; truths, and the proofs of them ; the rules, and their application ; but even very often the thoughts and turns ; insomuch that an orator of no great abilities is on a sudden enriched by the wealth of others, which becomes in some measure his own, by the use he makes of it. And so far from its being a crime in him to adorn himself thus with these precious spoils ; he ought, on the contrary, to be censured, in case he presumed to prefer his own thoughts to those of such great men, who, by a peculiar privilege, were destined to instruct all ages and nations after their death.

I do not pretend, in speaking thus, to confine the labour of preachers to extracting the most beautiful passages from the fathers, and delivering them so detached to their hearers. However, though they should do this, their flock would not be thereby less instructed ; nor would their case be very hard, should they still have St. Ambrose, St. Austin, and St. Chrysostom, for their pastors. I have heard a clergyman in Paris, who was very much followed and admired, though most of his sermons were borrowed from Mr. Tourneux and Mr. Nicole. And indeed, what need the people care whence what they hear is borrowed, provided it be excellent, and well adapted to their instruction ? But a preacher is allowed to lend, or rather to join his eloquence to that of those great men, by borrowing from them the substance of his proofs and arguments ; and expressing them after his manner, without following them servilely. If he undertakes, for instance, to shew why God permits just men to be afflicted in this life, St. Chrysostom, in his first homily to the people of Antioch, supplies him with ten or twelve different reasons, all supported by texts of scripture ; and adds a great number in other discourses. St. Austin has also some wonderful passages on this subject, which he treated often, because this instruction

struction and consolation have in all ages been necessary to the good and just. Can a preacher of genius and elocution, finding himself in the midst of these immense riches, of which he is allowed to take whatever he pleases, fail of delivering himself in a great, noble, majestic, and at the same time solid and instructive manner? A person who is a little conversant with the fathers, immediately discovers whether a discourse flows from those sources; whether the proofs and principles were taken from thence; and though the preacher be ever so eloquent or solid in other respects, yet, if he is deficient in this part, he wants something very essential.

I again repeat, that this advantage is of inestimable value, and does not require infinite pains or time. Some years of retirement would suffice for this study, how extensive soever it may appear: and that man who should have made himself master only of the homilies of St. John Chrysostom, and St. Austin's sermons on the Old and New Testament, with some other little treatises of the latter, would find in them all that is necessary to form an excellent preacher. These two great masters would alone suffice to teach him in what manner he is to instruct his flock, by teaching them religion thoroughly, and from principles, and by clearly explaining to them its tenets and morality; but, above all, by making them perfectly acquainted with Christ, his doctrine, actions, sufferings, mysteries; and annexing these several instructions to the text of scripture itself, the explication of which is equally adapted to the capacities, and the taste both of the learned and unlearned; and fixes the truths in the mind, in a more easy and agreeable manner.

One cannot inculcate too much to young men, after St. Austin's example, the necessity they will be under, in case God should one day call them to the ecclesiastical ministry, of going through a course of solid studies, of making the scriptures familiar to them.

themselves, and of taking the holy fathers for their guides and masters before they undertake to teach others.

S E C T. V.

Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.

WHEN I propose to make some reflections here on the Eloquence of the Scriptures, I am far from being willing to confound them with those upon profane authors, by making youth remark only such things as please the ear, delight the imagination, and form the taste. The design of God in speaking of mankind by the scriptures, was not undoubtedly to foment their pride and curiosity, or to make them orators and learned men, but to amend their hearts. His intention in those sacred books, is not to please the imagination, or to teach us to move that of others, but to purify and convert us, and to recal us from abroad, whither our senses lead us, to our heart, where his grace enlightens and instructs us.

It is certain that the Divine Wisdom has every kind of blessing in her train, and that all the qualities which the world respect, and can only receive from her, are at her disposal. And how would it be possible for her not to be eloquent, she who ^b opens the mouth of the dumb, and makes little children eloquent?

ⁱ *Who hath made man's mouth?* says he, speaking to Moses, who thought himself not possessed of a good utterance, *Who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind; have not I the Lord?*

But the Divine Wisdom, in order to make itself more accessible and more eligible, has condescended

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^b *Sapientia aperuit os mutorum; et linguas infantium fecit disertas.*
Sap. x. 2.

ⁱ *Obsecro, Domine: non sum eloquens ab heri et nudius tertius Quis fecit os hominis? aut quia fabricatus est mutum et surdum, videntem et cecum? Nonne ego? Exod. iv. 20. et 11.*

to stoop to our language, to assume our tone of voice, and to stammer, as it were, with children. Hence it is, that the chief and almost universal characteristic of the scriptures, is simplicity.

This is still more apparent in the New Testament, and St. Paul discovers to us a very sublime reason of it. The Creator's design, at first, was to win over men to the knowledge of himself by the use of their reason, and by contemplation on the wisdom of his works. In this first plan, and manner of teaching, every thing was great and magnificent, every thing answered to the majesty of the God who spake, and the greatness of him who was instructed. But sin has destroyed that order, and occasioned a quite opposite method to be used. ^k *For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.* Now part of this folly consists in the simplicity of the evangelical word and doctrine. God was determined to discredit the vanity of eloquence, of knowledge, and the wisdom of philosophers; and to bring into contempt the pomp of human pride, in dictating the books of scripture, by which only mankind are to be converted, in a style quite different from that of the heathen writers. These seem studious only of heightening their discourses by ornaments, whereas the sacred penmen never endeavour to display wit in their writings, that they may bereave Christ's cross of the honour of converting the world, by giving it either to the charms of eloquence, or to the force of human reason.

If therefore, notwithstanding the simplicity, which is the true characteristic of the scriptures, we meet with such beautiful, such sublime passages in them; it is very remarkable, that this beauty, this sublimity, do not arise from a far-fetched, laboured elocution, but from the things, which are so great, so lofty in them-

^k 1 Cor. i. 21.

themselves, that they must necessarily appear magnificent when clothed in words.

Furthermore, the Divine Wisdom has employed the same method in speaking to men, as she did in the incarnation, by which she wrought their salvation. She was indeed veiled and darkened by the disagreeable outside of infamy, silence, poverty, contradictions, humiliations, and sufferings: but then she always suffered rays of majesty and power to escape through those veils, which clearly discover her divinity. This double character, of simplicity and majesty, is conspicuous also in every part of the Sacred Writings: and when we seriously examine, what this wisdom suffered for our salvation, and caused to be wrote for our instruction, we discover equally in both, the eternal Word, by whom all things were made, *In principio erat verbum*; this is the source of its grandeur; but its assuming the flesh for our sakes, *et verbum caro factum est*; this is the cause of its weakness.

'Twas necessary to use these precautions, and to lay down these principles, before I undertook to point out in the scriptures, such particulars as relate to eloquence. For otherwise, by setting too high a value on these kind of beauties, we should expose young people to the danger of having less veneration for those passages of scripture, where it is more accessible to *little ones*, although it be as divine in those places as in any other, and often conceals more profound things: or we should expose them to another danger, equally to be avoided, which is, to neglect those very things which wisdom says to us, and to attend only to the manner in which she says them; and by that means, to set a less value on the salutary counsel she gives us, than on the strokes of eloquence which fall from her. Now, it is injurious to her, to admire only her train, and not look upon herself; or to be more touched with the gift she often bestows on her enemies, than with the graces which she reserves for her children and disciples.

I shall run over different matters, but not in a very exact order. I have observed elsewhere, that most of the reflections the reader will find here on the scriptures are not mine; which indeed their beauty of style will shew.

I. Simplicity of the mysterious Writings.

** They crucify him there.*

The more we reflect on the inimitable character of the Evangelists, the more we discover that they were not directed by the spirit of man. These barely say in a few words, that their master was crucified, without discovering the least surprize, compassion or gratitude. Who would have spoke in this manner of a friend that had laid down his life for him? What son would have related in so short, so unaffected a manner, how his father had saved him from death, by suffering in his stead? But it is in this that the finger of God appears conspicuous; and the less man appears in a conduct so little human, the more evident is the operation of God.

The prophets describe Christ's sufferings, in a lively, affecting and pathetic manner, and abound with sentiments and reflections; but the Evangelists relate them with simplicity, without emotion, or reflections; without breaking out into admiration or testimonies of gratitude; or discovering the least design to make their readers the disciples of Christ. It was not natural, that persons, who lived so many years before Christ, should be so touched with his sufferings; nor that men who were eye-witnesses of his cross, and so zealous for his glory, should speak with so much calmness of the unheard-of crime that was perpetrated against him. The strong zeal and affection of the apostles might have been suspected, which that of the prophets could not be. But had not the evangelists

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* Luke xxii. 33.

¹ David, ps. x, xi, et lxxviii. Isai. c. l. et liii. Jer. c. xviii. &c.

and the prophets been inspired, the former would have writ with greater force and fire, and the latter with more coldness and indifference; the one would have shewn a desire to persuade, and the other such a timidity and hesitation in their conjectures as would not have affected any one. All the prophets are ardent, zealous, full of respect and veneration for the mysteries they publish; but as for the evangelists, they are calm; and have an inimitable moderation, though their zeal is as strong as that of the prophets. What man but sees the hand which guided both the one and the other? And what more sensible proof can we have of the divinity of the scriptures, than their not resembling, in any particular, such things as are written by men? But at the same time, how much should such an example, and there are multitudes of the same kind, teach us to revere the august simplicity of the sacred books, which frequently conceal the most sublime truths, and the most profound mysteries?

It is much in the same manner, the scripture relates, that Isaac was laid, by Abraham, on the wood which was to be his funeral pile, and was bound before he was sacrificed, without telling us one word either of the sentiments of the son, or of his father's discourse to him; or preparing us for such a sacrifice by any reflections, or telling us in what manner the father and son submitted to it. Josephus the historian puts a pretty long, but very beautiful and moving discourse into Abraham's mouth; but Moses describes him as silent, and is himself silent on that occasion. The reason of this is, the former wrote as a man, and as his genius prompted him; whereas the other was the pen and instrument of the spirit of God, who dictated all his words.

II. *Simplicity and Grandeur.*

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. What man who was to have treated of such

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exalted

exalted matters, would have begun as Moses did? How majestic, and at the same time how simple is this? Don't we perceive, that it is God himself who informs us of a wonder which does not astonish him, and to which he is superior? A common man would have endeavoured to suit the magnificence of his expressions to the grandeur of his subject, and would have discovered only his weakness; but eternal wisdom, who made the world in ^o sport, relates it without emotion.

The prophets, whose aim was, to make us admire the wonders of the creation, speak of it in a very different manner.

P The Lord is King, and hath put on glorious apparel; the Lord hath put on his apparel, and girded himself with strength.

The holy King, transported in spirit at the first origin of the world, describes in the most pompous expressions, in what manner God, who hitherto had remained unknown, invisible, and had in the impenetrable secret of his Being, manifested himself on a sudden, by a crowd of incomprehensible wonders.

The Lord, says he, at last comes forth from his solitude. He will not be alone happy, just, holy, but will reign by his goodness and bounty. But with what glory is the immortal King invested! What riches has he displayed to us! From what source do so many lights and beauties flow? Where were those treasures, that rich pomp hid, which issued out from the womb of darkness? How great must the majesty of the Creator be, if that which surrounds him imprints so great an awe and veneration! What must he himself be when his works are so magnificent!

The same prophet in another Psalm, coming out of a profound meditation on the works of God, and filled with admiration and gratitude, exhorts himself

• Ludens in orbe terrarum. Prov. viii. 31.

• Dominus regnavit: decorem indutus est. Indutus est Dominus fortitudinem, et præiunxit sc. Ps. xcii. 1.

to praise and bless the infinite majesty and goodness, whose wonders astonish, and whose blessings oppress him. ¶ *Praise the Lord, O my soul: O Lord my God, thou art become exceeding glorious, thou art clothed with majesty and honour. . . . Thou deckest thyself with light, as it were with a garment; and spreadest out the heavens like a curtain.* Would not one think that the God of ages had clothed himself on a sudden with magnificence; and that issuing from the secret part of his palace, he displayed himself in light? But all this is but his outward clothing, and as a mantle which hides him. Thy majesty, O my God! is infinitely above the light that surrounds it. I fix my eyes on thy garments, not being able to fix them on thyself: I can discern the rich embroidery of thy purple, but I shall cease to see thee, should I dare to raise my eyes to thy face.

It will be of use to compare in this manner the simplicity of the historian, with the sublime magnificence of the prophets. These speak of the same things, but in quite a different view. The same may be observed with regard to all the circumstances of the creation. I shall present the reader with only a few of them, by which he may form a judgment of the rest.

¶ *God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also.*

Can any thing be more simple, and, at the same time, more august? I shall speak only of the sun and stars, and will begin with the last.

God only is allowed to speak with indifference of the most astonishing spectacle with which he had adorned the universe: *And the stars.* He declares in one word, what cost him but a word; but who can fathom the vast extent of this word? Do we consider

¶ *Benedic anima mea Domino. Domine Deus meus, magnificatus es vehementer. Confessionem [Heb. gloriam] et decorem inquisisti, amictus lumine sicut vestimento. Psal. civ. 1, 2.*

¶ *Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare majus, ut praeesset diei, et luminare minus, ut praeesset nocti, et stellae. Gen. i. 16.*

consider that these stars are innumerable, all infinitely greater than the earth; all, the planets excepted, an inexhaustible source of light? ^s But what order fixed their ranks? and whom does that host of heaven, all whose centinels are so watchful, obey with so much punctuality and joy? The firmament set with such a numberless multitude of stars, ^t is the first preacher who declared the glory of the Almighty; and to make all men inexcusable, we need only that book written in characters of light.

As for the sun, who can behold it stedfastly, and bear for any time the splendor of its rays? ^u *The sun when it appeareth, declares at its rising a marvellous instrument, the work of the High: At noon it parcheth the country, and who can abide the burning heat thereof? A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the sun burneth the mountains three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, and sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes. Great is the Lord that made it, and at his commandment it runneth hastily.* Is this then the same sun, which is mentioned in Genesis in so plain and simple a manner: *He made its light greater, that it might preside over the day?* How many beauties are comprehended, and, as it were, veiled under these few words! Can we conceive the pomp and profusion with which the sun begins his course; the colours with which he embellishes nature; and with what magnificence himself is arrayed at his appearing on the horizon, as the spouse whom heaven and earth await, and whose delight he forms? *He cometh forth out of his chamber*

^s *Stellae dederunt lumen in custodiis suis, et lactatae sunt. Vocatae sunt, et dixerunt, Adsumus, et luxerunt ei cum jucunditate, qui fecit illas. Baruc. iii. 34, 35.*

^t *Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annuntiant firmamentum. Psal. xix. 1.*

^u *Sol . . . vas admirabile, opus excelsi. In meridiano exiit terram, in conspectu ardoris ejus quis poterit sustinere? Fornacem custodiens in operibus ardoris: tripliciter sol exurens montes, radios igneos exsuffians, et refulgens radiis suis obaeceat oculos. Magnus Dominus qui fecit illum, et in sermonibus ejus festinavit iter.* Eccl. xliii. 2, 5.

as a bridegroom. But behold in what manner he unites the majesty and graces of a bridegroom, with the rapid course of a giant, who is less studious to please, than to carry, throughout the world, the news of the Prince who sends him, and who is less attentive to his dress than to his duty. *He exulted as a giant who is to run his race. He came from the highest heaven, and his course is to its height; nor can any one hide himself from his heat.* His light is as strong and diffusive as at the first day, so that the perpetual deluge of fire, which spreads from all parts of it, has not diminished the incomprehensible source of so full and precipitated a profusion. The prophet had just reason to cry out, *Great is the Lord who made it!* How great is the majesty of the Creator, and what must he himself be, since his works are so august!

I shall add farther, that passage which relates to the creation of the sea: *"God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear."*

Had not the prophets assisted us in discovering the wonders concealed under the surface of these words, their depth would be more unfathomable with regard to us, than that of the sea.

This commandment, which is here but a single expression, is a dreadful menace, and a thunder according to the prophet. ** The waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled: at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.* Instead of running off gently, they fled with fear; they hasted to precipitate themselves, and to crowd one over the other, in order to leave that space void which they seemed to have usurped, since God drove them from thence. Something like this happened when God made his people to pass through the Red Sea and the river Jordan, *The Red Sea made a noise, and*

^{*} Gen. i. 9.

^{*} Super montes stabunt aquae. Ab imprecatione tua fugient: à voce tonitruum formidabunt. Psal. civ. 6, 7.

and was dried up ; whence another prophet takes occasion y to ask God, whether he is angry at the river and the seas.

In this tumultuous obedience, where the frightened waters, one would imagine, should have swept away every thing in their course, an invisible hand governed them with as much ease as a mother governs and handles a child she had first swath'd, and afterwards put in his cradle. It is under these images God represents to us what he did at that time, *z Who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth as if it had issued out of the womb ? When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness a swaddling band for it ; and brake up for it my decreed place, and set bars and doors, and said, Hitherto shall thou come, but no farther : and here shall thy proud waves be stayed ?* There is no occasion to raise the beauty of these last words, for who is not affected with them ? God marked out bounds to the sea, and it did not dare to transgress them : *a* That which was written on its shores prevented it from going beyond them ; and that element which appears the most ungovernable, was equally obedient both in its flight and in its stay. This obedience has continued the same for many ages ; and how tumultuous soever the waves may appear, the instant they come near the shore, God's prohibition keeps them in awe, and stops their progress.

III. *The*

y Numquid in fluminibus iratus es, Domine? vel in mari indignatio tua? Habac. iii. 8.

z Quis conclusit ostiis mare, said he to Job, [Heb. Quis protexit in valvis mare, cum ex utero prodiens exiret?] quando erumpebat, quasi de vulva procedens: cum ponerem nubem vestimentum ejus, et caligine illud, quasi pannis infamiae, obvolverem! Circumdedi illud terminis meis, [Heb. decrevi super eo decretum meum] et posui vestem et ostia. Et dixi: Usque huc venies, et non procedes amplius, et hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos. [Heb. meta haec confringet tumorem fluctuum tuorum.] Job xxxviii. 8, 10.

a Posui arenam terminum mari, praeceptum sempiternum, quod non praeteribit. Et commovebuntur, et non poterunt, et intumescet fluctus ejus, et non transibunt illud. Jerem. v. 22.

III. *The beauty of the Scripture does not arise from the words, but the things.*

It is well known, that the most excellent Greek and Latin authors, lose most of their graces when translated literally, because a great part of their beauty consists in the expression: But as that of the scriptures consists more in the things than the words, we find that it subsists and strikes in the most verbal translation. This will plainly appear from every part of the scripture. I shall content myself with transcribing only two or three passages from it.

1. ^b *Wo unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth. In mine ears said the Lord of Hosts, of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair without inhabitant.*

There is nothing in all the eloquence of the heathens, comparable to the vivacity of the reproach, which the prophet here makes to the wise men of his time, who, neglecting the law of God, which had assign'd to every man in particular, a proportion of the promised land, with a prohibition to alienate it for ever; swallowed up in their vast parks, the vineyard, the field, and the house of those who were so unhappy as to live near them.

But the reflection which the prophet adds, seems to me no less eloquent, notwithstanding its great simplicity; *In mine ears said the Lord of Hosts. I hear the Lord; his voice is at my ear. Whilst the whole world attends to nothing but their pleasures, and that no one hears the law of God, I already*
hear

^b *Vae qui conjungitis domum ad domum, et agrum agro copulatis usque ad terminum loci. [Heb. Donec deficiat locus.] Numquid habitabitis vos soli in medio terrae? In auribus meis * Dominus exercituum: Nisi domus multae desertae fuerint grandes et pulchrae absque habitatore. Isai. v. 8, 9.*

^{*} *Thus the Hebrew version had it; but the Latin version ascribes these words to God, not to the prophet. In auribus meis sunt haec: dicit Dominus exercituum.*

hear his thunder roaring against those ambitious rich men, who think of nothing but building and establishing their abode upon the earth. God echoes in mine ear a perpetual threat against their vain enterprizes, and a kind of oath more dreadful than the threat itself, because it proves the latter ready to break forth, and irrevocable : *Of a truth many houses shall be desert, &c.*

2. The same prophet describes the characteristic of the Messiah in a wonderful manner. *c For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder : and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of peace.*

I shall consider only the following expression, *and the government shall be upon his shoulder* ; this includes a wonderful image, and has a peculiar energy when considered with due attention.

Jesus Christ shall be born an infant, but then he shall not wait either for years or experience before he reigns. He shall not stand in need of being acknowledged by his subjects, nor of being assisted by his armies, in order to subdue rebels ; for he himself will be his strength, his power, his royalty. He shall differ infinitely from other kings, who cannot be such unless they are acknowledged by some state ; and who fall into the condition of private men, if their subjects refuse to obey them. Their authority is not their own, nor from themselves, nor can they give it duration. But the child who shall be born even when he shall appear to be in want of all things, and to be incapable of commanding, shall bear the weight of divine majesty and royalty. *d He shall support every thing by his efficacy and power ;* and

* *Parvulus natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis, et factus est princeps pacis.* [Heb. et erit.] principatus super humerum ejus ; et vocabitur nomen ejus, Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus, Fortis, Pater futuri seculi, Princeps pacis. *Isai. ix. 6.*

d Portans omnia verbo virtutis suae. Heb. i. 3.

Ecce Deus vester : ecce Dominus Deus in fortitudine veniet, brachium suum dominabitur. *Isai. xl. 10.*

his sovereign authority shall reside fully and wholly in himself, and the government shall be upon his shoulder. Nothing shall prove this better than the manner itself in which he shall chuse to reign. He must have from himself, and independent of all exterior means, a sovereign power, in order to make himself be worshipped by mankind, notwithstanding the ignominy of the cross, which he shall vouchsafe to take upon himself; and to change the instrument of his punishment into the instrument of his victory, and the most splendid mark of his sovereignty; the government shall be upon his shoulder.

Those who study the Scripture attentively, find that the beauty of it consists in the strength and greatness of the thoughts.

IV. DESCRIPTION.

i. Cyrus was the greatest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince mention'd in history, the reason of which the scripture gives us, viz. that God himself had taken a pleasure in forming him, for the accomplishment of his intended mercy to his people. He calls him by his name two hundred years before his birth, and declares, that he himself will set the crown on his head, and put a sword in his hand, in order to make him the deliverer of his people.

Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him: and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. . . . I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no god besides me: I girded thee, thou hast not known me.

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E c

In

** Haec dicit Dominus Christo meo Cyro, cujus apprehendi dexteram, ut subjeciam ante faciem ejus gentes, et dorſa regum vertam, et aperiam coram eo januas, et portae non claudentur. Ego ante te ibo, et gloriosos terrae humiliabo: portas aereas conteram, et vectes ferreos confringam. . . . Ego Dominus, et non est amplius: extra me non est Deus. Accinxi te: et non cognovisti me. Isa. xlv. 1. 2. 5.*

In another place, he commands Cyrus king of the Persians, then called Elamites, to set out with the Medes; he orders the siege to be made, and the walls to fall down. ^f *March, Elam; Mede, do thou besiege. In fine, Babylon will no longer make others sigh.* Let him come now at my command; let him join with the Medes; let him besiege a city which is an enemy to my worship and to my people; let him obey me without knowing me; let him follow me with his eyes shut; let him execute my commands without being either of my counsel, or in my confidence; and let him teach all princes, and even all men, how I am sovereign over empires, events, and even wills; since I make myself be equally obeyed by kings, and by every private foldier in the armies, without having any occasion either to reveal myself, or to exhort, or employ any other means than my will, which is also my power. ^g *That they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me, I am the Lord, and there is none else.*

How majestic are these few words! *Go up, Elam; Prince of the Persians, set out. Besiege, Mede: and you, Prince of the Medes, form the siege. I have made all their groans to cease: Babylon is taken and plundered: it has no power; its tyranny is at an end.*

2. The scriptures have painted in the strongest colours, how greatly sensible God is to the oppression of the poor and the weak, as well as to the injustice of the judges and the mighty of the earth.

^h Isaiah represents truth feeble and trembling, imploring, but in vain, the assistance of the judges, and representing herself to no purpose before every tribunal. Access is denied her every where; she is in

^f Ascende, Elam; obside, Mede: omnem gemitum ejus cessare feci. Isa. xxi. 2.

^g Isa. xlv. 6.

^h Conversum est retrorsum judicium, et justitia longè stetit: quia corruit in platea veritas, et aequitas non potuit ingredi. Et facta est veritas in oblivionem: et qui recessit à malo, praedae patuit: et vidit Dominus, et malum apparuit in oculis ejus, quia non est judicium. Et vidit quia non est vir: et apertus est, quia non est qui occurrat. Isa. lix. 14, 15, 16.

all places rejected, forgot, and trodden under foot. Interest prevails over right, and the good man is delivered up a prey to the unjust. *And the Lord said it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment. And he saw that there was no man, and he wondered that there was no intercessor.*

His silence would make me conclude, either that he does not see those disorders, or that he is indifferent to them. It is not so, says the prophet in another place; every thing is prepared for judgment, whilst men are not thinking any thing of the matter. ⁱ The invisible Judge is present. He is standing in order to take in hand the defence of those who have no other; and to pronounce a very different sentence against the unjust, and in behalf of those who are poor and weak. *The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of the people, and the princes thereof; for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in their houses. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor?* says the Lord God of Hosts. Nothing can be stronger or more eloquent than the reproaches which God makes in this place to the judges and princes of his people. How! You who ought to defend my people, as a vine that was committed to your care; you who ought to serve as a hedge and rampart to it; it is you yourselves have made wild havoc of this vine, and ruined it, as though the ^k fire had past over it. *And you eat the vine.* Had you been but a little tender of your brethren, and not ruined them entirely! but after you have stripped my people, you lay them in the wine-presses; in order to squeeze the marrow out of their bones: *You bruise them; you crush them under the mill, in order to grind them to dust; you grind them.* You perhaps intend to

E e 2

conceal

ⁱ Stat ad judicandum [Heb. concertandum] Dominus, et stat ad judicandos populos. Dominus ad judicium veniet cum senibus populi sui, et principibus ejus. Vos enim [Heb. et vos] depasti estis vineam. Rapina pauperis in domo vestra. Quare atteritis populum meum, et facies pauperum commolitis, dicit Dominus Deus exercituum? Isa. iii. 13,—15.

^k So the original says.

conceal your thefts and rapine from me, by converting them into proud furniture for the ornament of your houses. I have followed with attentive and jealous eyes, all you have despoiled your brother of; and see it, notwithstanding your great endeavours to hide it. *The spoil of the poor is in your houses.* Every thing calls aloud for vengeance, and shall obtain it; it shall fall on you and your children; and the son of an unjust father, as he inherits his crime, will also inherit my anger. *Wo to him that buildeth a town with blood, and stablisheth a city by iniquity. For the stones shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it.*

We observe a quite opposite character in the person of Job, who was the pattern or example of a good judge and a good prince. *For from my youth compassion was brought up with me, as with a father, and I have guided her from my mother's womb. . . . I put in righteousness, and it cloathed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. . . . I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. . . . I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor. . . . I brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluck'd the spoil out of his teeth.*

3. I shall conclude with a description of a very different kind from those which preceded it, but no less remarkable: 'tis that of a war-horse, which God himself described in the book of Job.

Hast

^p *Vae qui aedificat civitatem in sanguinibus. . . . Quia lapis de pariete clamabit: et lignum, quod inter juncturas aedificiorum est, respondabit.* Hab. ii. 11, 12.

^m *Ab infantia mea crevit mecum miseratio: [Heb. educavit me] et ab utero matris deduxi illam. . . . Liberabam pauperem vociferantem, et pupillum cui non erat adjutor. Benedictio perituri super me veniebat, et cor viduae consolatus sum. Justitia indutus sum; et vestivi me, sicut vestimento et diademate, judicio meo. Oculus fui caeco, et pes claud.* Pater eram pauperum. . . . Conterebam molas iniqui, et de dentibus illius aufereram praedam. Job cap. xxxi. 18. et cap. xxix. 12, 14, — 17.

ⁿ Hast thou, says God to Job, *given the horse strength? Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder? Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? The glory of his nostrils is terrible. He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength: he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage; neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet. He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and shouting.*

Every word of this would merit an explication, in order to display the beauties of it; but I shall take notice only of the latter, which give a kind of understanding and speech to the horse.

Armies are a long time before they are set in battle array, and are sometimes a great while in view of one another without moving. All the motions are marked by particular signals, and the soldiers are appointed to perform their various duties, by the sound of trumpet. This slowness is importunate to the horse: as he is ready at the first sound of the trumpet, he is very impatient to find the army must so often have notice given to it. He murmurs secretly against all these delays, and not being able to continue in his place, nor to disobey orders, he strikes the ground perpetually with his hoof, and complains, in his way, that the soldiers lose their time in gazing one upon another. *He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage.* In his impatience, he considers as nothing all such signals as are not decisive, and which only point out some circum-

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stances

ⁿ Numquid praebebis equo fortitudinem, aut circumdabis collo-
ejus hinnitum? Numquid suscitabis eum quasi locustas? Gloria na-
rum ejus terror. Terram ungula fodit: exultat audacter: in occur-
sum pergit armatis. Contemnit pavorem, nec cedit gladio. Super
ipsum sonabit pharetra, vibrabit hasta et clypeus. Fervens, et fre-
mens sorbet terram, nec reputat tubae sonare clangorem. Ubi au-
dierit buccinam, dicit, Vah! Procul odoratur bellum, exhortatio-
nem ducum, et ululatum exercitus. Job xxxix. 19, 25.

stances to which he is not attentive; *neither believeth he that it is the sound of a trumpet.* But when it is in earnest, and that the last blast of the trumpet calls to battle, then the whole countenance of the horse is changed. One would conclude, that he distinguishes, as by his smell, that the battle is going to begin; and that he heard the general's order distinctly, and answers the confused cries of the army, by a noise, which discovers his joy and courage: *He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and skouting.*

If the reader compares Homer's and Virgil's admirable descriptions of the horse, he will find how vastly superior this is to them both.

V. FIGURES.

It would be an endless labour to run over all the different kinds of figures in the Scriptures. The passages above cited include a large number, and to these I shall add a few more, especially of those that are most common, such as the metaphor, the simile, the repetition, the apostrophe, and prosopopeia.

1. *The Metaphor and Simile.*

◦ *I have always dreaded the anger of God, as waves hanging over my head, and I could not bear the weight of them.* What an idea does this give us of God's anger! waves that swallow up every thing, a weight that overwhelms and dashes to pieces. *¶ I shall bear the anger of the Lord.* How can we bear it to all eternity!

Nor is the magnificence of God with regard to his elect, less difficult to be comprehended and explained. *¶ He will make them drunk with his blessings, and will overflow them with a flood of delights.*

◦ *Semper quasi tumentes super me fluctus timui Deum, et pondus ejus ferre non potui.* Job xxxi. 25.

¶ Mich. vii. 9.

◦ *Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ: et torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos.* Psal. xxxv. 9.

But there is another kind of drunkenness reserved for the wicked. ^r *Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow*, says a prophet to wicked Jerusalem, *with the cup of astonishment and desolation, with the cup of thy sister Samaria. Thou shalt even drink it, and suck it out, and thou shalt break the sherds thereof, and pluck off thine own breasts: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord.* This is a dreadful picture of the rage of the damned, but infinitely fainter than truth.

2. Repetition.

^s *Like as I have watched over them, to pluck up and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy, and to afflict; so will I watch over them, to build, and to plant, saith the Lord.* The conjunction here repeated several times, denotes, as it were, so many redoubled strokes of God's anger.

^t *Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.* This repetition, which is also in ^u *Isaiah*, denotes that the fall of this great city will appear incredible; and that every one, before he will believe it really is fallen, will cause it to be repeated several times to him.

^x *Now will I rise, saith the Lord; now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myself.* That is to say, after having a long time to ly asleep, he will at length come out of his sleep, to undertake the defence of his people with splendor, and that the moment is come; *Now, now.* God expresses himself still more strongly

^r *Ebrietate et dolore repleberis: calice moeroris et tristitiae, calice fororis tuae Samariae. Et bibes illum, et epotabis usque ad faeces, et fragmenta ejus devorabis, et ubera tua lacerabis: quia ego locutus sum, ait Dominus Deus. Ezek. xxiii. 33, et 34.*

^s *Sicut vigilavi super eos ut evellerem, et demolirer, et dissiparem, et disperderem, et affligerem: sic vigilabo super eos ut aedificem, et plantem, ait Dominus. Jer. xxxi. 28.*

^t *Cecidit, cecidit Babylon illa magna; quae à vino irac fornicationis suae potavit omnes gentes. Apoc. xiv. 8.*

^u *Isaiah xxi. 9.*

^x *Nunc confusam, dicit Dominus: nunc exaltabor: nunc sublevabor. Isaiah xxxiii. 20.*

strongly in the same prophet. *y I have long time holden my peace, I have been still and restrained myself: now will I cry like a travelling woman; I will destroy and devour at once.*

3. *Apostrophe, Prosopopeia.*

These two figures are often blended. The latter consists chiefly in giving life, sentiment, or speech, to inanimate things, or in addressing discourse to them.

In the cxxxviiith Psalm, it is a citizen of Jerusalem banished to Babylon, who sitting mournfully on the banks of the river which watered that city, breathes his grief and complaints, in turning his eyes towards his dear country. His masters, who kept him in captivity, urged him to play some airs on his musical instrument for their diversion. But he, filled with grief and indignation, cries out, *z How shall we sing the Lord's song, in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.* How tender! how affecting, does this apostrophe to the city of Jerusalem make the discourse of this banished Jew! He imagines he sees it, discourses with it, protests with an oath, that he will lose his voice and the use of his tongue, and that of his instruments, rather than forget it, by partaking in the false joys of Babylon.

The sacred writers make a wonderful use of the prosopopeia, and Jerusalem is often the object of it. I shall content myself with pointing out only a single example taken from ^a Baruch, where that prophet describes the unhappiness of the Jews who are led captives to Babylon. He introduces Jerusalem as a mother in the deepest affliction, but at the same time obedient to the instructions of God, how rigo-

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^y Tacui semper, filii; patiens fui; sicut parturiens loquar: diffinabo et absorbebo simul. *Isaiah xlii. 14.*

^z Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena? Si oblitus fuero tui, Jerusalem, oblivioni detur [Heb. obliviscatur] dextera mea. Adhaereat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui. *Psal. cxxxviii. 4, 5, 6.*

^a Baruch, cap. v. 1, — 4.

ever, who exhorts her children to obey the sentence which condemns them to banishment; who bewails her solitary condition and their miseries; who represents to them, that 'tis the just punishment for their prevarications and ingratitude; who gives them salutary advices, in order to their making an holy use of their severe captivity; and who, at last, full of confidence in the goodness and promises of God, promises them a glorious return. The prophet afterwards addresses himself to Jerusalem, and comforts her, from the prospect that her children will be recalled, and the several advantages to succeed their return. *Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of thy mourning and affliction, and put on the comeliness of the glory that cometh from God for ever. . . . For thy name shall be called of God for ever, the peace of righteousness, and the glory of God's worship.*

Nothing is more common in the Scriptures than to give life to the sword of God. ^b God lays his command on it, it sharpens, it polishes itself, prepares to obey; sets out at the appointed moment; goes where God sends it, devours his enemies, fattens itself with their flesh, gets drunk with their blood; grows hot with slaughter; and after having executed its master's commands, returns to its place. The Prophet Jeremiah unites almost all these ideas in one place, and adds others more animated to them. ^c *O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into the scabbard; rest and be still. How can it be quiet,* replies the Prophet, *seeing the Lord hath given it a charge*

^b *Mucro, mucro, evagina te ad occidendum: lima te ut interficias et fulgeas. . . . Gladius exacutus est, et limatus. Ut caedat victimas, exacutus est, ut splendeat, limatus est. Ezek. xxi. 28. ix. 10.*

Gladius Domini repletus est sanguine, incrassatus est adipce. Isa. xxiv. 6.

Devorabit gladius et saturabitur, et inebriabitur sanguine eorum. Jer. xlvii. 10.

^c *O mucro Domini, usquequo non quiesces? Ingredere in vaginam tuam, refrigerare, et sile. Quomodo quiescet, cum Dominus praeceperit ei adversus Ascalonem. . . . ibique condix erit illi? Jer. xlvii. 6. 7.*

a charge against Asbkelon, and against the sea-shore ? There hath he appointed it.

VI. SUBLIME PASSAGES.

^d *God said, Let there be light, and there was light :* 'Tis in the original, *God said, Let light be, and light was.*

Where was it a moment before ? How could it spring from the very womb of darkness ? At the same instant with light, the several colours which spring from it, embellished all nature. The world, that had been hitherto plunged in darkness, seemed to issue a second time out of nothing ; and every thing, by being enlightened, was beautified.

^e This was produced by a single word, whose majesty even struck the Heathens, who admired at Moses's making God speak as a sovereign ; and that instead of employing expressions, which a little genius would have thought magnificent, he contented himself with only, *God said let there be light, and there was light.*

And, indeed, nothing can be greater or more elevated than this way of thinking. To create light (and 'tis the same here with regard to the universe) God needed only to speak : it would be too much to say he needed only to have willed it ^f, for the voice of God is his will ; he speaks as a commander, and commands by his decrees.

The Vulgate has a little lessened the vivacity of the expression : *God said, let the light be made, and the light was made.* For the word *made*, which has different progressions among men, and supposes a succession of times, seems in some sort to retard the word of God, which was performed at the very moment he willed it, and received its perfection in an instant.

The Prophet Isaiah makes God deliver himself with the same sublimity, when he foretells the taking

^d Gen. i. 3.

^e Longin.

^f Dicere Dei, voluisse est. S. Eucher.

Naturae opifex lucem locutus est et creavit. Sermo Dei, voluntas est : opus Dei, natura est. S. Ambrose.

of Babylon, *I am the Lord that maketh all things, that stretcheth forth the heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself; . . . That saith to the deep* ^v, *be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers; That saith of Cyrus, he is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid.*

The Kings of Syria and Israel had sworn the destruction of Judah, and the measures they had taken for that purpose, seemed to make its ruin unavoidable. A single word baffles their design, ** Thus saith the Lord God, it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass.*

The same thought is amplified in another place; and the prophet who knows that God has promised to prolong the race of David, 'till the time of the Messiah who was to spring from him, defies with a holy pride the vain efforts of the princes and nations who conspired to destroy the family and throne of David. *y Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand; for God is with us.* Isaiah here prophesies in words suitable to the infinite power of God, that though all men should unite together, they yet shall not retard, one instant, immutable promises; that confederacies, conspiracies, secret designs, powerful armies shall have no effect;

^t Ego sum Dominus, faciens omnia: extendens cœlos solus, stabilis terram, et nullus mecum . . . Qui dico profundo, desolare, et flumina tua arefaciam. Qui dico Cyro, Pastor meus es, et omnem voluntatem meam complebis. Qui dico Jerusalem, Edificaberis; et templo, Fundaberis. Isai. xlv. 24, 27, 28.

^u He names the Euphrates, which Cyrus dried up in order to take Babylon.

^x Hæc dicit Dominus Deus: Non stabit, et non erit istud. Is. vii. 7.

^y Congregamini, populi, et vincimini: et audite universæ procule terræ: confortamini, et vincimini: accingite vos, et vincimini: inite consilium, et dissipabitur: loquimini verbum, et non fiet: quia nobiscum Deus. Isai. c. viii. 7, 9, 10.

effect ; that all those who attack the weak kingdom of Judah shall be overcome ; that the whole universe united shall not be able to effect any thing against it : and that the circumstance which will render it invincible, is, *God's being with it*, or, which is the same thing, because Emanuel is his protector and his King, and that *his* interest is the present concern, rather than that of the Princes he is to spring from.

Numberless obstacles opposed Zerubbabel's design of causing the temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt ; and these obstacles, like so many mountains, seemed to defy all human efforts. God only speaks, but with the voice of a sovereign, and the mountain vanishes: *Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain.*

Every one knows with what energy the scriptures make the impious man vanish, who a moment before seemed, like the cedar, to raise his proud head to the skies. ² *I have seen the wicked in great power: and spreading himself like a green bay tree: yet he passed away, and lo, he was not: yea, I sought him, but he could not be found.* He is so completely annihilated, that the very place where he stood was destroyed. M. Racine has translated this passage as follows :

J'ai vû l'impie adoré sur la terre,
Pareil au cédre, il cachoit dans le cieux
Son front audacieux.
Il sembloit à son gré gouverner le tonnerre,
Fouloit aux piés ses ennemis vaincus,
Je n'ai fait que passer, il n'étoit déjà plus.

Englished.

“ ^a I've seen the impious wretch ador'd on earth,
“ And, like the cedar, hide his daring front
“ High in the heavens. He seem'd to rule at will
“ Th

^a Psal. xxxvii. v. 35, 36.

^a Esther Act. v. scene dernière

" The forked thunder, and to crush his captives.---
 " I only past, and lo ! he was no more.

Such is the grandeur of the most formidable princes, when they do not fear God ; a smoke, a vapour, a shadow, a dream, a vain image : ^b *Man walketh in a vain shadow.*

But on the other side, what a noble idea do the scriptures give us of the greatness of God ! ^c He is He who is. His name is The Eternal ; the whole world is his work. The heaven is his throne, and the earth his footstool. All nations are before him but as a drop of water, and the earth they inhabit but as a particle of dust. The whole universe is before the Almighty as though it were not. His power and wisdom conduct it, and regulate all the motions of it with as much ease as a hand holds a light weight, with which it sports rather than bears it. ^d He disposes of kingdoms as the absolute sovereign of them, and gives them to whom he pleases ; but both his empire and power are infinite.

All this appears to us great and sublime, and is indeed so when compared to us. But when we speak to men in words they are capable of understanding, what can we say that is worthy of God ? The scriptures themselves sink under the weight of his majesty, and the expressions they use, how magnificent soever they may be, bear no proportion to the greatness, which alone deserves that name.

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F f

This

^b Psalm xxxix. 6.

^c Ego sum, qui sum. Exod. iii. 14.

Coelum sedes mea, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum. Isai. lxvi. 1.

Quis mensus est pugillo aquas, et coelos palmo ponderavit ; quis appendit tribus digitis molem terrae, et libravit in pondere montes et colles in statera ? . . . Ecce gentes quasi stilla situlae, et quasi momentum staterae reputatae sunt : ecce insulae quasi pulvis exiguus. . . . Omnes gentes quasi non sint, sic sunt coram eo, et quasi nihilum et inane reputatae sunt ei. Isaiah xl. 12, 15, 17.

^d Donec cognoscant viventes, quoniam dominatur Excelsus in regno hominum, et cuicumque voluerit, dabit illud. . . . Protegas ejus sempiterna, et regnum ejus in generationem et generationem. Dan. vi. 14, 31.

This Job observes in a wonderful manner. After having related the wonders of the creation, he concludes with a very simple, but at the same time, very sublime reflection. *“ Lo, these are parts of his ways, but how little a portion is heard of him? but the thunder of his power who can understand? ”* The little he discovers to us of his infinite grandeur, bears no proportion to what he is, and nevertheless surpasses our understanding. He stoops, and we cannot rise to him, at the time that he descends to us. He is constrained to employ our thoughts and expressions in order to make himself intelligible; and even then, we are rather dazzled with his brightness, than truly enlightened. But how would it be, should he reveal himself in all his majesty? Should he lift up the veil which softens its rays? Should he tell us who he is, what ear could resist the thunder of his voice? What eye would not be blinded by a light so disproportioned to their weakness? *But the thunder of his power who can understand?*

VII. TENDER and AFFECTING PASSAGES.

One would not believe, that such great Majesty would descend so low as to speak to man, if the scripture did not give us some proofs of it in every page. The most lively, the most tender things in nature, are all too faint to express his love.

“ I have nourished and brought up children, says he by the mouth of Isaiah, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider. ”

“ Ecce, hæc ex parte dicta sunt viarum ejus: et cum vix parvum illam sermonis ejus audierimus, quis poterit tonitruum magnitudinis illius intueri? ” Job xxvi. 14.

“ Filios enutrivì, et exaltavi: ipsi autem spreverunt me. Cognovit bos possessorem suum, et asinus præsepe domini sui; Israel autem me non cognovit, ” Isaiah i. 2, 3.

g And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?

h They say, if a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? Shall not that land be greatly polluted? But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to me, saith the Lord.

i Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are born by me, from the belly, which are carried from the womb. And even to your old age I am he, and even to hoary hairs will I carry you: I have made, and I will bear, even I will carry and will deliver you.

k As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.

l But Zion said, the Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.

E f 2

Though

g Nunc ergo, habitatores Jerusalem, et viri Juda, judicate inter me et vineam meam. Quid est quod debui ultra facere vineae meae, et non feci ei? An quod expectavi ut faceret uvas, et fecit labruscas? Isaiâh v. 3, 4.

h Vulgo dicitur: si dimiserit vir uxorem suam, et recedens ab eo duxerit virum alterum; numquid reverteretur ad eam ultra? numquid non polluta et contaminata erit mulier illa? Tu autem fornicata es cum amatoribus multis: tamen revertere ad me, dicit Dominus, et ego suscipiam te. Jerem. iii. 1.

i Audite me, domus Jacob, et omne residuum domus Israel, qui portamini à meo utero, qui gestamini à mea vulva. Usque ad senectutem ego ipse, et usque ad canos ego portabo. Ego feci, et ego feciam; ego portabo, et salvabo. Isaiâh xlv. 3, 4.

k Quomodo si cui mater blandiatur, ita ego consolabor vos, et in Jerusalem consolabimini. Isaiâh lxvi. 13.

l Dixit Sion: Dereliquit me Dominus, et Dominus oblitus est mei. Numquid oblivisci potest mulier infantem suum, ut non misereatur filio uteri sui? Et si illa oblita fuerit, ego tamen non obliviscar tui. Isaiâh xlix. 14, 15.

Though these comparisons are vastly tender, they yet are not enough so, to denote his tenderness and solicitude for men who so little deserve it. This Sovereign of the universe does not disdain to compare himself to a hen, who has her wings perpetually extended, in order to receive her young ones under them; and he declares that the least of his servants is as dear to him as the apple of his eye. ^m *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!* He himself speaking of his people, says thus: ⁿ *He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.*

Hence come these expressions so usual in scripture; and it is surprising that creatures should dare to use them when they speak of God: ^o *Keep me as the apple of thine eye; hide me under the shadow of thy wings.* To what man, O my God, could I speak in this manner, and to whom could I say that I am as precious as the apple of his eyes? But you yourself inspire, and enjoin this confidence. Nothing can be more delicate or weaker than the apple of the eye; and in that respect it is the image of myself. Be it so, O my God, in every thing else; and multiply the succours with regard to me, as you have multiplied the precautions with regard to that, by securing it with eye-lids. *Keep me as the apple of thine eye.* My enemies surround me like birds of prey, and I cannot escape them, if I do not fly for shelter to thy bosom. You taught callow birds to withdraw beneath the shelter of their mother's wings; and have inspired mothers with a wonderful care and tenderness for their young ones. You have represented yourself

^m Jerusalem, Jerusalem, quae occidis prophetas, et lapidas eos qui ad te missi sunt: quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas, et noluisti? Matth. xxiii. 37.

ⁿ Qui tetigerit vos, tangit pupillam oculi mei. Zach. ii. 8.

^o Custodi me ut pupillam oculi; sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me. Psalm xvii. 8.

yourself in your own works; and have exhorted mankind to have recourse to you, by all the testimonies of your goodness, which you have diffused in the animals and over nature. Let me presume, O my God, to put a confidence in thee, proportionate to thy goodness for me. *Hide me under the shadow of thy wings.*

Nothing can be more affecting than the admirable story of Joseph; and one can scarce refrain from tears, when we see him obliged to turn aside in order to dry his own, because his bowels yearn'd at the presence of Benjamin; or when, after having discovered himself, he throws himself about the neck of his dear brother; and folding him in the strictest embrace, mingles his tears with those of Benjamin, and discovers the same affectionate tenderness for the rest of his brethren, over each of whom it is said he wept. At that instant, not one of them spoke, and this silence is infinitely more eloquent than any expressions he could have employed. Surprise, grief, the remembrance of what was past, joy, gratitude, stifle their words: their heart can express itself no otherways than by tears, which would, but cannot sufficiently express their thoughts.

When we read the sad & lamentation of Jeremiah over the ruins of Jerusalem; when we behold that city, once so populous, reduced to a dreadful solitude; the Queen of nations become as a disconsolate

F f 3

widow;

² Festinavitque, quia commota fuerant viscera ejus super fratre suo, et erumpebant lacrymae. Gen. xliii. 30.

En oculi vestri, et oculi fratris Benjamin, vident quod os meum loquatur ad vos. Cumque amplexatus recidisset in collum Benjamin fratris sui, flevit, illo quoque similiter flente super collum ejus. Osculatusque est Joseph omnes fratres suos, et ploravit super singulos. Post quae ausi sunt huiusmodi ad eum. Gen. xlv. 12, 14, 15.

³ Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo: facta est quasi vidua domina gentium? . . . Viae Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solemnitatem. . . . Sacerdotes ejus gementes: virgines ejus squalidae. . . . Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiae Sion: consperserunt cinere capita sua, accincti sunt ciliciis. . . . Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis. Lament. i. 1, — 4, ii. 10. iv. 4.

widow; the streets of Zion weeping, because no one assists at its solemnities; her priests and virgins plunged in bitterness, groaning day and night; her old men, covered with sackcloth and ashes, sighing over the said ruin of their country; her famished children crying for bread, but without getting any, we are ready to cry out with the prophet, *O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.*

It was this deplorable state of Jerusalem, that made the Prophet vent perpetually such warm complaints, such tender prayers as these. *Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness, and of thy glory: Where is thy zeal and thy strength, the founding of thy bowels, and of thy mercies towards me? Are they restrained? . . . But now, O Lord, thou art our father: we are the clay, and thou our potter, and we are all the work of thy hand. . . Behold, see, we beseech thee, we are all thy people. Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burnt up with fire: and all our pleasant things are laid waste. Wilt thou refrain thyself for these things, O Lord? Wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?*

VIII. CHARACTERS.

It is not surprising that the spirit of God should have described, in the scriptures, the different characters

Quis dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lachrymarum? et plorabo die ac nocte interfectos filios populi mei. Jerem. ix. 1.

Attende de cælo, et vide de habitaculo sancto tuo, et gloriæ tuæ. Ubi est zelus tuus, et fortitudo tuæ; multitudo viscerum tuorum et miserationum tuarum? super me continuerunt se. Is. lxiii. 15.

Et nunc, Domine, pater noster es tu. . . et sisor noster tu, et opera manuum tuarum omnes nos. Ecce respice, populus tuus omnes nos. Civitas sancti tui facta est deserta: Sion deserta facta est: Jerusalem desolata est. Domus sanctificationis et gloriæ nostræ, ubi laudaverunt te Patres nostri, facta est in exustionem ignis; et omnia desiderabilia nostra versa sunt in ruinas. Numquid super his continebis te, Domine: tacebis, et affliges nos vehementer? Psal. lxi. 8—12.

acters of men in such lively colours. He implanted in our hearts all the rational sentiments they have; and he knows much better than we do, such as our own degeneracy has added to them.

Who does not at once see the ingenuous candour and innocent simplicity of childhood, in the relation which Joseph makes to his brethren of those dreams, which were to excite their jealousy and hatred against him, and which really had that effect?

When Joseph discovers himself to his family, he speaks a very few words, but then they are the expressions of nature itself; ** I am Joseph; doth my father yet live?* This is one of those strokes of eloquence which are inimitable. Josephus the historian was not touched with this beauty, or, at least did not preserve it in his relation; for the long discourse he substitutes for it, though very beautiful, does not supply its place.

There is a passage in the Acts, which paints in a wonderful, and at the same time natural manner, a sudden and impetuous joy. St. Peter had been thrown into prison, and miraculously released from it; when he came to the house of Mary, mother to John, where the faithful were assembled in prayer, y having knocked at the door, a maiden named Rhoda knowing his voice, instead of opening it, (so great were the transports of her joy) ran to the faithful, to tell them that St. Peter was at the door.

Grief, particularly that of a mother, has also a peculiar language and character. I do not know whether it would be possible to represent them better, than we find them in the admirable story of Tobias. As soon as this dear son was set out upon his journey, his mother, who loved him tenderly, was inconsolable for his absence; and being plunged in the deepest

^a Hæc ergo causa somniorum atque sermonum, invidiæ et odii fontem ministravit. Gen. xxxviii. 8.

^b Elevavit vocem cum fletu . . . et dixit fratribus suis, Ego sum Joseph, Adhuc pater meus vivit? Gen. xlv. 2, 3.

^c Et ut cognovit vocem Petri, præ gaudio non aperuit januam, sed intro currens nuntiavit stare Petrum ante januam. Act. xii. 14.

deepest sorrow, she bewailed herself incessantly: but her affliction was infinitely greater, when she found he did not return at the time appointed: ² *My son is dead, seeing he stayeth long; and she began to bewail him, and said: Now I care for nothing, my son, since I have let thee go, the light of mine eyes. My son is dead: and she went out every day into the way which they went, and did eat no meat in the day time, and ceased not whole nights to bewail her son Tobias.* We may judge of the effect which Tobias's return with Raphael produced. *The dog, who had followed them all the way, ran before them, and as though he had carried the news of their arrival, he seemed to testify his joy by the motion of his tail, and his caresses. Tobias's father, though blind, rose up, and began to run, though at the hazard of falling every moment; and taking one of the servants by the hand, he ran to meet his son. Being come up to him, he embraced him, and his mother afterwards, when they began to weep for joy. Then, after worshipping God, and returning him thanks, they sat down.* This is a most exquisitely finished description, and the pen-man, in order to make it still more natural, did not omit even the circumstance of the dog, which is entirely natural.

A word which the ambitious Haman happens to let fall, discovers the whole state of their souls who abandon themselves to the insatiable desire of honours. He had reached the highest point of fortune to which a mortal could attain, and every one bowed the knee to him, except Mordecai. ^a *Yet, says he to his friends in confidence, all this availeth me nothing, so long as I* *see*

² Flebat igitur mater ejus irremediabilibus lachrymis, atque dicebat: Heu heu me filii iri, ut quid te misimus peregrinari, lumen oculorum nostrorum, baculum senectutis nostrae, solatium vitae nostrae, spem posteritatis nostrae? Omnia simul in te unio habentes, te non deluimus dimittere à nobis. . . . Illa autem nullo modo consolari poterat, sed quotidie exiliens circumspiciebat, et circumibat vias omnes per quas spes revocandi videbatur, ut procul videret eum, si fieri posset, venientem. Tob. x. 4, 5, 7.

^a Cum hæc omnia habeam, nihil me habere puto, quandiu video Mardochoeum Judaeum sedentem ante fores regias. Est. h. v. 13.

see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's gate. Mr. Racine did not forget this circumstance, and has made a very happy use of it.

Dans les mains des Persans jeune enfant apporté,
Je gouverne l'empire où je fus acheté.
Mes richesses des rois égalent l'opulence.
Environné d'enfans, soutiens de ma puissance,
Il ne manque à mon front que le bandeau roial.
Cependant, des mortels aveuglement fatal !
De ces amas d'honneurs la douceur passagere
Fait sur mon cœur à peine une atteinte legere.
Mais Mardochée assis aux portes du palais
Dans ce cœur malheureux enfonce mille traits :
Et toute ma grandeur me devient insipide,
Tandis que le soleil éclaire ce perfide.

Englified.

" Brought when an infant into Persia's state,
" I rule the empire, where I once was sold.
" The richest kings I equal now in wealth ;
" And blest'd with children who support my pow'r,
" The royal diadem alone I have not.
" And yet what fatal blindness governs mortals !
" The transient sweets of all these mighty honours
" Convey but little pleasure to my heart,
" Whilst Mordecai that sits before the gates
" Of the King's palace, racks my tortur'd soul :
" And all my grandeur is to me insipid,
" Whilst the bright sun beholds that wretch alive.

I shall conclude with a passage in scripture, where the suppression of a single word describes, in a wonderful manner, the character of a person whose soul is strongly fixed on an object. The spirit of God had revealed to David, that the ark would at last have a fix'd habitation on mount Sion, where should be built the only temple he would have in the world.
* This king and prophet, in the highest raptures,
and

* Repletus Spiritu Sancto civis iste: et multa de amore et desiderio civitatis hujus volvens secum, tamquam plura intus apud se meditatus; erumpit in hoc, FUNDAMENTUM EJUS. S. August. in Psalm. lxxxvi.

and in a manner drunk with holy ecstasies ; without relating what passed within himself, nor whom he speaks of ; and supposing that the minds of the rest of mankind as well as his own are entirely fixed on God, and on the mystery which had just been revealed to him, cries out ; ^b *His foundation is in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob.* He will therefore change his promises no more ; and the Lord will no more depart from Israel : his habitation will henceforward be fixed among us ; his ark will wander no more ; his sanctuary will no longer be uncertain, and Zion shall in all ages be the seat of his rest ; his foundation is in the holy mountains.

'Tis from the same sentiments of joy that Mary Magdalen, when she was seeking Christ in the grave, wholly intent upon the object of her love and desires, imagining it was a gardener she saw, says to him, without telling him whom she spake of, ^c *Sir, if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.* ^d Transported, as it were, out of herself, by the ardour of her love, she thinks every one ought to think of that person whose idea possesses her whole soul ; and that all must know him she is seeking.

The Psalms only would furnish an infinity of admirable examples in every kind of eloquence ; the simple, the sublime, the tender, the vehement, the pathetic style. The reader may peruse what bishop Bossuet has said on this head, in the second chapter of his preface to the Psalms, intitled, *De grandiloquentia et suavitate Psalmorum*, i. e. *Of the majesty and sweetness of the Psalms.* The lively and sublime genius of that great man is visible in every part of it. I shall quote but one passage from it in this place,

^b *Fundamenta ejus [or rather fundatio ejus, sedes ejus fundata, firma] in montibus sanctis. Diligit Dominus portas Sion super omnia tabernacula Jacob. Psal. lxxxvi. 1, 2.*

^c John xx. 15.

^d *Vis amoris hoc agere solet in animo, ut quem ipse semper cogitat, nullum alium ignorare credat. S. Gregor. Pap.*

place, which might suffice to shew, in what manner a taste of the beauties of the holy scripture may be attained: it is that where ^c David describes a storm.

“*Sit exempli loco illa tempestas: Dixit et adstitit spiritus procellæ: intumuerunt fluctus: ascendant usque ad cælos, et descendunt usque ad abyssos. Sic undæ fusque deque volvuntur. Quid homines? Turbati sunt, et moti sunt sicut ebrius: et omnis eorum sapientia absorpta est; quam profecto fluctuum animorumque agitationem non Virgilius, non Homerus, tanta verborum copia æquare potuerunt. Jam tranquillitas quanta; statuit procellam ejus in auram, et siluerunt fluctus ejus. Quid enim suavius, quam mitem in auram-definens gravis procellarum tumultus, ac mox silentes fluctus post fragorem tantum? Jam, quod nostris est proprium, majestas Dei quanta in hac voce: Dixit, et procella adstitit? Non hic Juno Æolo supplex, non hic Neptunus in ventos tumidis exaggeratisque vocibus sæviens, atque æstus iræ suæ vix ipse interim premens. Uno ac simplici jussu statim omnia peraguntur.*”

God commands, and the sea swells, and is impetuous: the waves ascend to the heavens, and descend to the depth of the abyss. God speaks, and with a single word he changes the storm into a gentle breeze, and the tumultuous agitation of the waves into a deep silence. How strong! How various are these images!

^c Psal. cvi. 25, &c.

The SONG of MOSES, after his passing through the RED SEA, explained according to the rules of RHETORIC.

We owe the explication of this Song to Mr. Her-
san, formerly Rhetoric professor in the college De
Plessis. The reader may justly expect something
excellent from his name and reputation. We have
thought proper to change some few things in it
which the author would not disapprove, were he
living.

CANTICUM MOYSIS. MOSES' SONG.

Ver. 1. ^a *CANTEMUS* Ver. 1. I Will sing unto
Domino: glori- the Lord: fo-
riose enim magnificatus est. he hath triumphed glori-
Equum et ascensorem deje- ously; the horse and his
cit in mare. rider hath he thrown into
the sea.

^a Heb. Cantabo.

Ver. 2. *Fortitudo mea Ver. 2. The Lord is my*
et laus mea Dominus, et strength and song, and he
factus est mihi in salutem. is become my salvation
Iste Deus meus, et glorifi- he is my God, and I will
cabo eum: Deus patris mei, prepare him an habitati-
et exaltabo eum. on: my father's God, and
I will exalt him.

Ver. 3. *Dominus quasi Ver. 3. The Lord is*
vir pugnator: Omnipotens, man of war: the Lord
nomen ejus. Heb. Jeho- his name.
vah, vir belli: Jehovah
nomen ejus.

Ver. 4. *Currus Phara- Ver. 4. Pharaoh's cha-*
onis et exercitum ejus pro- riots and his host hath he
jecit in mare: electi prin- cast into the sea; his cho-
cipes ejus submersi sunt in sen captains also are
mari rubro. drowned in the Red-sea.

Ver. 5.

Ver.

Ver. 5. *Abyssi operuerunt eos : descenderunt in profundum quasi lapis.*

Ver. 6. *Dextera tua, Domine, magnificata est in fortitudine : dextera tua, Domine, percussit inimicum.*

Ver. 7. *Et in multitudine gloriæ tuæ deposuisti adversarios tuos. Missisti iram tuam, quæ devoravit eos sicut stipulam.*

^b There is not, in the original, either *Quæ* or *Et*, or any other conjunction; the expression is the stronger upon that account.

Ver. 8. *Et in spiritu furoris tui congregata sunt aqua : et stetit unda fluens : congregata sunt abyssi in medio mari.*

^c Heb. Steterunt, sicut accervus, fluentia.

^d Heb. Coagulate sunt.

Ver. 9. *Dixit inimicus : Persequar, et comprehendam ; dividam spolia ; implebitur anima mea ; evaginabo gladium meum ; interficiet eos manus mea.*

^e Heb. possidebit, or possidere faciet.

Ver. 10. *Flavit spiritus tuus, et operuit eos mare. Submersi sunt quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus.*

^f Heb. Sufflasi spiritu tuo.

Ver. 11. *Quis similis tui in fortibus, Domine, quis*

^g The Hebrew word signifies equally Gods and strong.

Ver. 5. The depths have covered them ; they sank into the bottom as a stone.

Ver. 6. Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power : thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

Ver. 7. And in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee : thou sentest forth thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble.

Ver. 8. And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together : the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

Ver. 9. The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil : my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them.

Ver. 10. Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them : they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

Ver. 11. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods ? who is like thee, glo-

similis tui, magnificus in gloriosus in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders? sanctitate, & terribilis at- que laudabilis, faciens mirabilia?

^g Heb. Terribilis laudibus.

Ver. 12. *Extendisti manum tuam, ^h et devoravit eos terra.*

^h Et is not in the Hebrew.

Ver. 13. *Dux fuisti in misericordia tua populo quem redemisti: et ⁱ portasti eum in fortitudine tua ad habitaculum sanctum tuum.*

ⁱ Heb. deduces.

Ver. 14. *^k Ascenderunt populi, et irati sunt: dolores obtinuerunt habitatores Philistiim.*

^k Heb. Audient populi.

Ver. 15. *Tunc conturbati sunt principes Edom: robustos Moab obtinuit tremor: ^l obriguerunt omnes habitatores Chanaan.*

^l Heb. dissolventur.

Ver. 16. *Irruat super eos formido et pavor: in magnitudine brachii tui, fiant immobiles quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine, donec pertranseat populus tuus iste, quem possedisti.*

Ver. 17. *Introduces eos, et plantabis in monte hereditatis tue, firmissimo habitaculo tuo, quod operatus*

Ver. 12. Thou stretchest out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.

Ver. 13. Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed: thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.

Ver. 14. The people shall hear and be afraid: sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestine.

Ver. 15. Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed, the mighty men of Moab, trembling shall take hold upon them: all the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.

Ver. 16. Fear and dread shall fall upon them; by the greatness of thine arm they shall be as still as a stone: till thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over, which thou hast purchased.

Ver. 17. Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place,

es, Domine : Sanctuarium tuum, Domine, quod firmaverunt manus tue.

place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in : in the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.

Ver. 18. Dominus regnabit in aeternum, & ultra.

Ver. 18. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

Ver. 19. Ingressus est enim eques Pharaon cum curribus & equitibus ejus in mare ; & reduxit super eos Dominus aquas maris : filii autem Israel ambulaverunt super siccum in medio ejus.

Ver. 19. For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horsemen, into the sea ; and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them : but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea.

THE SONG of MOSES,

Explained according to the Rules of RHETORIC.

THIS excellent Song may justly be considered as one of the most eloquent pieces of antiquity. The turn of it is great, the thoughts noble, the style sublime and magnificent, the expressions strong, and the figures bold ; every part of it abounds with images that strike the mind, and possess the imagination. This piece, which some believe was composed by Moses in Hebrew verse, surpasses the most beautiful descriptions, which the Heathens have given us in this way. Virgil and Horace, though the most perfect models of poetical eloquence, have not writ any thing comparable to it. No man can set a higher value than I do on those two great poets, and I studied them close, with the utmost pleasure, for several years. Nevertheless, when I read what Virgil wrote in praise of Augustus, in the beginning

of the third book of the ^a Georgics, and at the end of the eighth ^b Æneid; and what he makes the priest Evander sing, in the same book, in honour of Hercules; though those passages are vastly fine, they seem grovelling to me in comparison with the song in question ^c. Virgil methinks is all ice, Moses all fire. The same may be affirmed of the fourteenth and fifteenth Odes of the fourth Book, and in the last of the Epodes.

A circumstance which seems to favour these two poets, and other profane writers, is, that we find in them a cadence, a harmony and elegance of style which is not to be met with in the scriptures. But then we commonly read them in a translation; and it is well known, that the best French translators of Cicero, Virgil and Horace, disfigure their author very much. Now, the original language of the scripture must be vastly eloquent, since there remains more in the copies of it, than in all the Latin works of ancient Rome, and the Greek ones of Athens. The scriptures are close, concise, and void of foreign ornaments, which would only weaken their impetuosity and fire; hate long perambulations, and reach the mark the shortest way. They love to include a great many thoughts in few words; to introduce them as so many shafts; and to make those objects sensible, which are the most remote from the senses, by lively and natural images of them. In a word, the scriptures have greatness, strength, energy, and majestic simplicity which raise them above every thing in the heathen eloquence. If the reader will but give himself the trouble to compare the places above cited from Virgil and Horace, with the reflections I shall now make, he will soon be convinced of the truth of what I say.

^a Ver. 16, 39.

^b Ver. 675, 728.

^c Ver. 287, 300.

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OCCASION and SUBJECT of the SONG.

The great miracle which God wrought, when the children of Israel passed through the Red-Sea, the prophet's view in it is, to indulge himself in his transports of joy, admiration and gratitude, for this great miracle : to sing the praises of God the deliverer, to offer up to him public and solemn thanks, and to inspire the people with the same sentiments.

EXPLICATION of the SONG.

Ver. 1. **C**ANTEMUS (Heb. *cantabo*) *Domino gloriose enim magnificatus est. Equum et ascensorem dejecit in mare. "I will sing unto the Lord; for he hath triumphed gloriously, the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."*

Moses full of admiration, gratitude and joy, could he possibly have better declared the emotions of his heart, than by this impetuous exordium, in which the lively gratitude of the people delivered, and the dreadful greatness of God the deliverer, are described?

This exordium is the bare or simple proposition of the whole piece. It is, as it were, the extract and point of sight, to which the several parts of the picture refer. This we must carry in our minds, as we read the song, to comprehend the artifice with which the prophet draws so many beauties, so much magnificence, from a proposition, which at first sight seems so simple and barren.

I will sing, is much more energetic, more affecting, more tender, than it would be in the plural, *we will sing*. This victory of the Hebrews over the Egyptians, is not like those common victories which one nation gains over another, and whose fruits are general, vague, common, and almost imperceptible to every individual. Here every thing is peculiar to every Israelite, every thing is personal. At this first instant, every one reflects on his own chains which are

broken; every one imagines he sees his cruel master drowned; every one is sensible of the value of his liberty which is secured to him for ever. For it is natural to the heart of man, in extreme danger, to refer every thing to himself, and to consider himself as every thing.

The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. This singular, *the horse, his rider*, which includes the totality of horses and riders, is much more energetic than the plural would have been. Besides, the singular denotes much better the ease and suddenness of the drowning. The Egyptian cavalry was numerous, formidable, and covered whole plains. It would have required several days to have defeated and cut them to pieces: but God defeated them in an instant, with a single effort, at a blow. He overthrew, drowned, overwhelmed them all, as though they had been but one horse, and one rider: *The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.*

The Lord is my strength and song, &c. This is the amplification of the first words of the song, *I will sing*. Let us observe in what manner this is extended.

Of the several attributes of God, he praises only his strength, because it was by that he had been delivered.

My strength. This figure is energetic, for, *the cause of my strength*, which is flat and languid; besides that *my strength* shews that God alone was to the Israelites as courage, and dispensed with their making any use of it.

My song. This is the same figure, and equally emphatic. He is the only subject of my praise: no instrument divides it with him; neither power, wisdom, nor human industry can be associated with him: he alone merits all my gratitude, since he alone performed, ordained and executed every thing. *The Lord is my song.*

He is become my salvation. The writers of the Augustan ages would have writ, *hath saved me*, but the Scripture says much more. The Lord hath undertaken to perform, himself, every thing that was re-

quired

quisite for my salvation; he made my salvation his own, his personal, affair; and what is much more emphatical, *is become my salvation.*

He is my God. He is emphatical, and signifies much more than it is supposed to do at first sight. *He*, not the gods of the Egyptians and nations; gods void of strength, speechless and lifeless; but he who performed so many prodigies in Egypt and in our passage, he is my God, and him will I glorify.

My God. This *my* may have a double relation, the one to God, the other to the Israelites. In the former, God appears to be great, powerful, and a God for me only. Unattentive to the rest of the universe, he is employed wholly on my dangers and on my safety; and is ready to sacrifice all the nations of the earth to my interest. In the second relation, *he is my God*; I will never have any other. To him only I consecrate all my wishes, all my desires, all my confidence. He only is worthy my worship and love, and to him only will I for ever pay homage.

My father's God, and I will exalt him. This repetition is inexpressibly tender. He whose grandeur I exalt, is not a strange God, unknown till this day, a protector for a moment, and ready to assist any other. No: he is the ancient protector of my family: his goodness is hereditary. I have a thousand domestic proofs of his constant love, perpetuated from father to son, down to me. His ancient kindnesses were so many titles and pledges, which assured me of the like. He is the God of my father: he is the God who displayed himself so often to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In fine, he is the God who but now fulfilled the mighty promises which he had made to my forefathers.

What has he done to effect this? *The Lord is a man of war.* He might have said, as he is the God of armies, he has delivered us from the army of Pharaoh, but this was saying too little. He considers his God as a soldier, as a captain, he puts, as it were, the sword into his hand, and makes him fight for the children of Jacob.

The Lord is a man of war; the Lord is his name. In the Hebrew it is *Jehovah is a man of war, Jehovah is his name.* Moses insists upon the word *Jehovah*, the better to shew, by this repetition, who this extraordinary warrior is, who has deigned to fight for Israel. As though he had said, *Jehovah, the Lord, has appeared like a warrior.* Is what I now say well understood? Is this miracle comprehended in its full latitude? Yes I again repeat: It is the supreme God in person, it is the only God: it is to say all in one word he who is called *Jehovah*, whose name is incommunicable, who alone possesses all the fulness of being; he is become the champion of Israel. Himself has been to them instead of soldiers. He took upon himself the whole weight of the war. *The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace,* said Moses to the Israelites before the battle; as though he had said, you shall be still and not fight.

Ver. 4. and 5. *Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea; his chosen captains are also drowned in the Red-sea. The depths have covered them, they sank into the bottom as a stone.*

Observe the pompous display of all that is contained in these two words, *the horse and his rider.*

1. *Pharaoh's chariots.* 2. *His hosts.* 3. *His chosen captains.* A beautiful gradation.

How wonderful is this amplification! *He cast into the sea. They are drowned in the Red-sea. The depths have covered them; they sank to the bottom as a stone; all this to explain, He has thrown into the sea.* We observe in these words, a series of images which succeed one another, and swell by degrees. 1. *He cast into the sea.* 2. *They are drowned in the Red-sea.* They are drowned, improves on *He cast.* ... *In the Red-sea,* is a circumstance which determinates more than simply, *the sea.* (The Hebrew has it, *in the sea Suph.*) One would conclude that Moses was

desiring

^a Qui est . . . Ego sum, qui sum.

^b Exod. xiv. 14.

desirous of heightening the greatness of the power which God exhibited in a sea which formed part of the Egyptian empire, and which was under the protection of the gods of Egypt. 3. *His chosen captains*, the greatest of Pharaoh's princes: that is to say, the proudest, and perhaps those who opposed with greatest violence the laws of the God of Israel; in a word, those who were most able to save themselves from the shipwreck, are swallowed up like the meanest soldiers. 4. *The depths have covered them*. What an image is here! They are covered, overwhelmed, vanished for ever. 5. To complete this picture, he concludes with a simile, which is, as it were, the stroke that animates and points out the whole; *they sank into the bottom as a stone*. Notwithstanding their pride and haughtiness, they make no greater resistance to rise up against the arm of God who plunges them, than a stone that sinks to the bottom of the waters.

After this what should Moses think, what should he say? One of the most important rules of rhetoric, and which Cicero never fails to observe, is, that after an account of a surprising action, or even of an extraordinary circumstance, the writer must quit the calm and easy air proper to narration, and deliver himself with more or less impetuosity, according to the nature of the subject; this is commonly done by apostrophes, interrogations, exclamations, which figures enliven both the discourse and the hearer. All this Moses has done inimitably in the song before us.

Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

There are several things to be observed here.

1. Moses might have said, *God has displayed his strength by striking Pharaoh*. But how faintly, in how languid a manner would that express so great an action! He springs towards God, and says to him in a kind of enthusiasm, *Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious, &c.*

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2. He might have said, *O Lord, thou hast displayed thy strength, &c.* But this is not strong enough, and does not convey a sensible idea to the mind; whereas in the expression of Moses, we see, we distinguish as it were, the Almighty's hand, which extends itself, and crushes the Egyptians. Whence I conclude at once, that the true eloquence is that which persuades; that it commonly persuades no other way than by moving; that it moves by things and palpable ideas only; and that, for these several reasons no eloquence is so perfect as that of the holy scriptures, since the most spiritual and metaphysical things are there represented by sensible and lively images.

3. *Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.* A most beautiful repetition! and very necessary to give a stronger idea of the power of God's arm. The first member of the period, *thy right hand is become glorious in power*, having hinted only at the event in loose and general terms, the prophet thinks he has not said enough; and to denote the manner of this action, he immediately repeats, *thy right hand hath dashed in pieces the enemy*. It is the nature of great passions, to repeat those circumstances which foment them, as appears from all the passionate places in the best authors; and as is seen in the sacred writings, particularly in the Psalms.

4. *In the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee.* So many great beauties are concealed in the original text, that they merit some illustration.

1. By these words, *in the greatness of thine excellency*, the sacred writer would describe the action of a nobleman of figure, who assumes a haughty air, who rises in proportion as an impotent inferior presumes to rise against him, and is pleased to sink him the lower for that reason. The Egyptians looked upon themselves as very great; they even attacked God himself, and asked with a haughty tone, *Why*

then the Lord? But as these feeble, though innocent creatures rose, God rose also, and assumed all the elevation of his infinite grandeur, all the height of his supreme Majesty against them: *the proud knoweth afar off*. And it is from thence he overthrew his enemies who were so full of themselves, and hurled them, not only against the earth, but down into the most profound abysses of the sea.

2. *That rose up against THEE*. It was not against Israel that the Egyptians declared war, but it is You they presumed to attack; it is You they defied. Our quarrel was yours; it was against You they warred; *against Thee*. This is a delicate, affecting turn, in order to engage God himself in Israel's cause.

Ver. 7. *Thou sentest forth thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble*.

Ver. 8. *And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together; the floods stood upright as an heap, and the deeps are congealed in the heart of the deep*.

Ver. 9. *The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overcome, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them*.

Ver. 10. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters*.

Moses returns to the narration, not as in the fourth and fifth verses by a mere description, but in continuing his apostrophe to God, which gives more passion to the relation, and from which the conduct of this song seems superior to human eloquence. The farther it removes from the simple proposition which serves as an exordium to it, the stronger are the amplifications.

Thou sentest forth thy wrath. How great is this figure! How noble the expression! The prophet gives action and life to God's anger: he transforms it into an ardent and zealous minister, whom the Lord judges.

judge sends calmly from his throne to execute the decrees of his vengeance. When Kings would fight their enemies, they stand in need of infantry, cavalry, arms, and a long train of warlike instruments; but to God, his wrath alone can punish the guilty. *Thou sentest forth thy wrath.* How many things are comprized in two or three words, which leave to the reader the pleasure of enumerating in his imagination the fires, the flashes of lightning, the thunderbolts, the storms, and all the other instruments of this wrath! The beauty of this expression is better felt than exprest; we find a certain depth in it, a something, which employs and fills the mind. Horace had this figure in view in the expression *Iracunda fulmina*; and Virgil hit upon it in the ingenious composition of the thunder described in the eighth book of the *Æneid*.

-----*Sonitumque, metumque*

Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras.

What was then the effect of this dreadful wrath? *It consumed them as stubble?* The scripture only can furnish us with such images. Let us consider the thought attentively. We shall see the wrath of God consuming a prodigious army. Men, horses, chariots, all are dashed, consumed, overwhelmed; how weak are these synonymous terms! All these are consumed, that would be saying all, but the simile which follows finishes the picture; for the word *consume* gives us the idea of an action that lasts some time, but, *as stubble*, shews an instantaneous action. How! so mighty an army as this consumed like stubble! The reader should consider the force of these ideas.

But how was this effected? God, by a furious wind, assembled the waters, which swelled like mountains in the midst of the sea. The children of Israel passed over it as on dry land; the Egyptians pursuing them into it, were swallowed up in the waves. This is a plain and unembellished re-

tion; but how beautiful, how majestic is the turn which is given to it in scripture! I should never have done, should I examine them particularly. I am charmed with the whole song, but this passage transports me.

With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together. The prophet ennobles the wind, by making God himself the principle of it; and animates the waters, by representing them susceptible of fear. The better to paint the divine indignation, and its effects, he borrows the image of human wrath, whose lively transports are accompanied with a precipitated breathing, which causes a violent and impetuous blast. And when this wrath, in a powerful person, directs itself towards a fearful populace, it forces them, for their own security, to give way, and to fall in a tumultuous manner one upon the other. 'Tis thus *with the blast of the Lord's nostrils*, the frightened waters withdrew with impetuosity from their usual bed, and crowded suddenly one upon the other, in order to give way to this wrath; whereas, the Egyptians, who came in the way of this wrath, were consumed like stubble. We often meet with such a description of the divine wrath in the scriptures, ^f *The sea saw it and fled. . . .* ^g *Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered, at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils. . . .* ^h *There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled at it.* Are we to wonder that a wrath like this should overthrow and swallow up every thing?

The deeps were congealed in the heart of the sea. That is, the waters were bound up, and frozen like ice. *The depths* give us a much more dreadful idea than *waters*. *In the heart of the sea*: This circumstance is very emphatic; it fixes the imagination,

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and

^f *Mare vidit, et fugit. Apparuerunt fontes aquarum ab inspiratione tua, Domine, ab inspiratione spiritus irae tuae. . . . Ascendit fumus in ira ejus, et ignis à facie [Heb. ex ore] ejus exarsit: carbones succensi sunt ab eo. Psal. cxiv. 3.*

^g *Psal. xviii. 15.*

^h *Ibid. ver. 8.*

and makes us conceive to ourselves mountains of solid waters in the center of the liquid element.

The two verses that follow are inexpressibly beautiful. Instead of barely saying, as was before observed, that the Egyptians, by their pursuing the Israelites, went into the sea; the prophet himself enters into the heart of those barbarians, puts himself in their place, assumes their passions, and makes them speak; not that they had really spoke, but because a thirst of vengeance and a strong desire of pursuing the Israelites, was the language of their hearts, which Moses made them utter, in order to vary his narration, and to make it the more ardent.

The enemy said, instead of *the Egyptians said*. This singular, the *enemy*, how beautiful is every word!

I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, &c. We read, and perceive a palpable vengeance in these words, as we read them. The sacred Penman has not put a conjunction to any of the six words which compose the Egyptian soldiers discourse, in order to give it the greater spirit, and to express more naturally the disposition of a man whose soul is fired, who discourses with himself, and does not mind connecting his words with conjunctions, his thoughts requiring freedom and liberty.

Another writer would have stopt here, but Moses goes farther. *My lust shall be satisfied upon them.* He might have said, *I will divide the spoil, and I will fill myself with them.* But, *my lust shall be satisfied upon them*, represents them as rioting on spoils and swimming in joy.

I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them. The Vulgate runs thus, *I will unsheath my sword, and my hand shall kill them.* The reflection that follows, which is very beautiful, supposes this sense. They are no less affected with the pleasure of killing their enemies, than that of plundering them. Let us see how he describes this. He might have said in one word, *I will kill them*; but this would have

been

been too quick; he gives them the pleasure of a long vengeance. I will unsheath my sword. How great is this image? It even strikes the reader's eye, *Mine hand shall destroy them.*

This *mine hand*, is inexpressibly beautiful. This expression represents a soldier who is sure of victory: we see him looking about, moving up and down, and stretching forth his arm. My fear for the children of Israel makes me tremble. Great God! what wilt thou do to save them! A numberless multitude of Barbarians are furiously hastening to victory and vengeance. Can all the shafts of thy wrath check the impetuosity of thine enemies? The Almighty blows, and the sea has already surrounded them. *Thou didst blow with the wind, the sea covered them.*

It must be confessed that this reflection is very strong, eloquent, and well adapted to form the taste, for which reason I thought the reader ought not to be deprived of it. But I must be obliged to confess, that the Hebrew text, instead of *mine hand shall destroy them*, has it thus, *Mine hand shall again subject them to me; my hand shall triumph over them; my hand shall again put me in possession of those fugitives.* And indeed, this was the real motive which prompted the Egyptians to pursue the Israelites, as the Scriptures manifestly declare. ¹ *And it was told the King of Egypt, that the People fled; and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the People; and they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?* Pharaoh therefore and his officers did not intend to kill and extirpate the Israelites, which would have been against their own interest; but they designed to force them sword in hand and to return into captivity, and work again in the public edifices.

Methinks, there is also a great beauty in this expression, *Mine hand shall again subject them to me.* The God of the Israelites had declared that he would free them from their Egyptian captivity, and

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deliver

¹ Exod. xiv. 5.

deliver them from their hard servitude by the strength of his arm. * *I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage; and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm.* He had often caused Pharaoh to be told, that he would stretch out his hand upon him, in his servants, in his fields, and his cattle; that he would shew him that he was the master and the Lord, by stretching out his hand over all Egypt, and by rescuing his people out of their captivity. ¹ *The Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them.* Here the Egyptian who already fancies himself victorious, insults the God of the Hebrews. He seems to reproach him for the weakness of his arm, and the emptiness of his threats; and says to himself in the drunkenness of an insolent joy, and in the transports of a foolish confidence, notwithstanding what the God of Israel hath said, *Mine hand shall again subject them to me.*

10. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them, they sank as lead in the mighty waters.*

Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them. Could Moses have possibly given us a nobler idea of the power of God? He only blows, and he at once overwhelms a numberless multitude of forces. This is the true sublime. *Let there be light, and there was light;* can any thing be greater?

The sea covered them. How many ideas are included in four words! How easy are the words! But what a crowd of ideas! 'Tis to this passage we may apply what Pliny says of Timanthus the painter: *In omnibus ejus operibus plus intelligitur, quam pingitur . . . ut ostendat etiam quæ occultat.*

Any other writer but Moses would have let his fancy take wing. He would have given us a long detail, and a train of useless insipid descriptions; he would have exhausted his subject, or impoverished it.

* Ibid. vi. 6. Ibid. ix. 3, et 15.

¹ Exod. vii. 5.

it, and tired the reader, by an empty pomp of words and a barren abundance. But here God blows, the sea obeys, it pours upon the Egyptians, they are all swallowed up. Was ever description so full, so lively, so strong as this ! There is no interval between God's blowing and the dreadful miracle he performs in order to save his people. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them.*

They sank as lead in the mighty waters. Reflect attentively on this last stroke, which assists the imagination and finishes the picture.

Ver. 11. *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the Gods ? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders ?* 12. *Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.*

To the wonderful relation above mentioned, succeeds a wonderful expression of praise. The greatness of this miracle required this vivacity of sentiment and gratitude. And how, indeed, could it be possible for the writer not to be transported, and, as it were, out of himself at the sight of such a wonder ? He employs the interrogation, the comparison, the repetition, all which figures are naturally expressive of admiration and rapture.

Glorious in holiness, &c. It is impossible to imitate the lively, concise stile of the text, which is composed of three little members, detached from each other, without a copulative, and of which each consists of two or three words short enough, *Glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders.* It is as difficult to render the sense of it, how diffusive soever the version may be made, which besides makes it flat and languid, whereas the Hebrew is full of fire and vivacity.

Ver. 13. *Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people. . . . thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation, &c.*

This, and the four following verses, are a prophetic declaration of the glorious protection which God was to grant his people after having brought them out

out of Egypt. They abound every where with the strongest and most affecting images. The reader does not know which to admire most; ° God's tenderness for his people, whose guide and conductor he himself will be, by preserving them during the whole journey, like the apple of his eye, as he declares in another place: and carrying them on his shoulders, as an eagle bears her young ones: or his formidable power, which causing terror and dread to walk before it, freezes, with fear, all such nations as should presume to oppose the passage of the Israelites thro' the Red Sea, and strikes those nations so, that they become motionless as a stone: or, lastly, God's wonderful care, to settle them in a fixed and permanent manner in the promised land, or rather to plant them in it: *Thou shalt plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance*; an emphatic expression, and which alone recalls all that the Scriptures observe in so many places, of the care which God had taken to plant this beloved vine; to water it, inclose it with fences, and to multiply and extend its fruitful branches to a great distance.

Ver. 18, 19. *The Lord shall reign for ever and ever. For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horsemen into the sea, and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea.*

This concludes the whole song, by which Moses promises God in the name of all the people, to bear eternally in their minds the signal delivery, which God had wrought in their favour.

Possibly this conclusion may appear too simple, when compared to the verses which go before it. But methinks there is as much art in this simplicity as in the rest of the song. And indeed, after Moses had moved and raised the minds of the people by so many great expressions and violent figures, it was proper, and agreeable to the rules of rhetoric, to end his

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song

song with a plain, simple exposition, not only to unbend the minds of his hearers, but also to give them an idea, without employing figures, turns, or a pomp of words, of the greatness of this miracle, which God had just before wrought in their favour.

The delivery of the Jewish people out of Egypt, is the most wonderful prodigy we read of in the Old Testament. God mentions it a thousand times in the Scriptures; he speaks of it, if I may be allowed the expression, with a kind of complacency; he relates it as the most shining proof of the strength of his all powerful arm. And indeed, it is not a single prodigy, but a long series of prodigies, each more wonderful than the other. It was fit that the beauty of a song, which was written to perpetuate the remembrance of this miracle, should equal the greatness of the subject: and it was impossible but this should do so, as the same God who wrought those wonders, dictated also the song.

But what beauty, grandeur and magnificence should we discover in it, were we permitted to pierce the mysterious sense which is concealed beneath the veil of this great event? For it must be allowed, that this delivery out of Egypt covers and represents other deliverances? ^p The authority of St. Paul, that of all tradition, and the prayers of the church, oblige us to consider it as a type of the freedom which the Christian obtains by the waters of baptism, and his delivery from the yoke of the Prince of this world. The Revelations mention another use of this delivery, by shewing those, who have overcome the beast, holding the harps of God in their hands, and singing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, &c.*

Now as the scriptures declare, that the wonders of the second deliverance will surpass infinitely those of the first, and will entirely blot out the remembrance of it; we may believe, that the beauties of the

the spiritual sense of this song would quite eclipse those of the historical sense.

But I am far from being able to display these wonders, and indeed that does not suit the design of this work, wherein my view was to form the taste of youth, in matters of eloquence. This explication of Moses's song, may conduce more to that end than any thing else, and I believed therefore, that it would be agreeable to the public. The author's modesty had buried it, as it were, in obscurity, and therefore the reader will not be displeased, to find it published by his scholar, as a testimony of the gratitude he owes to so excellent a master. He not only bore this character with regard to me, but likewise that of a father, having always loved me as a son. Mr. Hersan took the utmost care of me whilst I was under his tuition, designing me, even at that time, for his successor; and indeed I was so in the second class, in rhetoric and in the royal college. I may assert without flattery, that no man was ever more capable than this gentleman, to point out and illustrate the beautiful passages in authors, or to raise an emulation in youth. The funeral oration of the chancellor Le Tellier, which Mr. Hersan delivered in the Sorbonne, and which is the only piece of his in prose, which he suffered to be printed, is sufficient to shew the exquisite delicacy of his taste: and his verses which are published, may be considered as so many standards in their kind. But then he was much more valuable for his virtues, than for his genius. Goodness, simplicity, ^r modesty, disinterestedness, a contempt for riches, a generosity carried almost to excess, such were his qualities. He made no other advantage of the entire confidence which a powerful ^s minister reposed in him, than to do good to others. As soon as I was chosen principal of the college

^r He would never suffer himself to be elected Rector (Principal) of the University.

^s Mr. de Louvois.

college of Beauvais, he devoted for my sake, and from his love to the public, two thousand crowns to be laid out in such repairs and embellishments as were wanting there. But the last years of his life, though spent in obscurity and retirement, have obscured all the rest. He withdrew to Compeigne his native place. There, secluded from company, wholly employed in the study of the scriptures, which had always been his delight; meditating perpetually on [†] death and eternity, he devoted himself entirely to the service of the poor children of the city. He built a school for their use, and it is perhaps the finest in the kingdom, and left a stipend for a master. He himself taught them very often, and generally had some of them at his table. He clothed several of them; distributed rewards from time to time among them, in order to encourage them to study; and his greatest consolation was, to think, that after his death those children would offer up the same prayer for him, that the famous Gerson, when he condescended to teach school in Lyons, had desired, by his last will, of those he had taught: *My God, my Creator, have pity on your poor servant John Gerson.* He had the happiness to die poor, in some measure, in the midst of the poor, having scarce enough left for a last foundation of the *sisters of charity* for the instruction of girls, and to take care of the sick. I hope the reader will pardon this digression, since the sole motive of it is, to express my gratitude for a master to whom I have so many obligations.

[†] He published a collection of the extracts he had made on this subject, entitled, *Elifing Meditations upon Death, taken from the words of scripture and of the fathers.*

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